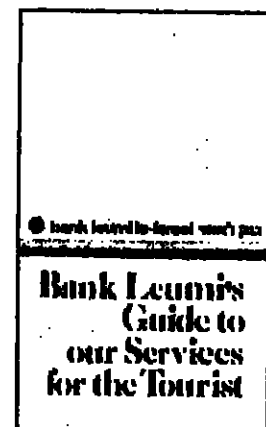


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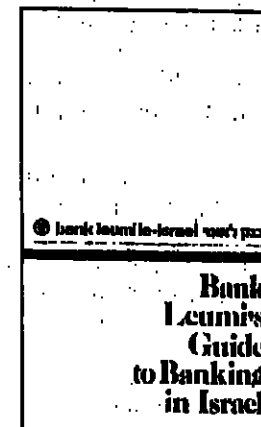
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INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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Arens' new line on Lebanon



Defence Minister Moshe Arens visits Israeli soldiers "somewhere in Lebanon" last week. He questioned them about their service conditions and answered their questions about defence policy.

New Defence Minister Moshe Arens is hoping to return attention to the original aims of the war in Lebanon and favours a partial withdrawal of the IDF, political sources in Jerusalem said last week.

The sources said that Arens does not intend to abandon the effort to achieve an arrangement with Lebanon incorporating elements of "normalization" of relations between the two states.

However, the concept which guides his thinking, as reflected in talks he has held with various political and military figures, is that Israel has to focus on the original, central aim of the war — to ensure the security of Israel's northern border.

Sources close to the talks with Lebanon said that Arens would likely participate intensively and stress his views at meetings of the ministerial committee guiding the talks.

The sources estimated that the minister enjoys the full support of Prime Minister Menachem Begin — a support which will be particularly important when and if Minister Without Portfolio Ariel Sharon objects to Arens' positions.

According to the sources, Arens also enjoys the support of most cabinet members, who maintain that Israel should act to further the negotiations in cooperation with the U.S.

The sources added that Arens enjoys large widespread public support and much credibility in the IDF, and the fact that he has taken office "from outside" following his success in Washington is seen as a major point in his favour, enabling him to introduce new ideas in the talks.

Arens supports a partial IDF withdrawal, simultaneous with a Syrian pullback, as an interim phase towards a general withdrawal. This position is being interpreted by the political sources as part of Arens' desire for speedy action to bring about a full withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanese territory.

The sources said that a trip made by Arens last week to Lebanon strengthened his view that there is a need to act quickly to minimize the chances of friction between the IDF and various forces in Lebanon.

In the meantime, Jerusalem expects the return of special U.S. envoy Philip Habib from the U.S. Habib conveyed last week a

Lebanese proposal for an interim arrangement which would go into force immediately after the IDF withdrawal from Lebanon. According to several reports, before leaving for the U.S., Habib said that Lebanon would be prepared to negotiate on all issues once the IDF is out of Lebanon, and it is assumed that Habib's proposal and Arens' ideas will complement each other.

The Israel cabinet is reported to have agreed on Sunday that the Habib proposals do not go far enough. Israel wants to be satisfied that the peace of Galilee will be ensured and that the PLO does not establish an infrastructure in Lebanon again. The cabinet view also envisages a role for Christian militia commander Sa'ad Haddad in maintaining peace in southern Lebanon.

President Ronald Reagan, speaking in San Francisco, said there is new reason for optimism in the search for peace in the Middle East. "We are doing everything that we can to speed things up," he said.

"We are, I must say, disappointed by the time it has taken and the haggling and the negotiations, because no one will leave until all three agree to leave," Reagan said. But

(Continued on page 2.)

Doctors on strike — but with a difference

By MARGERY GREENFELD
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's doctors went on strike over pay claims last week — but it was a strike with a difference. The 8,500 government and sick fund doctors are still reporting for duty at hospitals and clinics, but are charging patients a fee of IS600 (about \$16) instead of treating them without payment and sending the bill to the patient's sick fund. Most Israelis belong to sick funds, to which they pay a monthly fee.

The doctors are demanding a 100 per cent increase in their basic wages, which range between IS14,000 and IS28,000 (\$370 and \$740) a month. Doctors supplement their basic wage by extra work.

The Israel Medical Association and the Treasury remained deadlocked as the week began over wage negotiations that were broken off when the doctors began sanctions last Wednesday. But there were signs that talks would resume.

The IMA had voted on Friday to suspend the sanctions while intensive negotiations were held. But because of the breakdown of talks on Saturday night the doctors decided to renew their tactic of charging a IS600 fee.

As both sides hardened their positions, doctors commented that medical services were running much better than ever before because of their decision to charge

fees. The emergency rooms, for example, are no longer crowded.

The Health Ministry over the weekend decided to put into immediate effect legal measures against the doctors devised in conjunction with the Justice Ministry. This will include ordering police to arrest doctors who collect the IS600 fee while using facilities and equipment belonging to the public.

In the negotiations, the initial point of disagreement on Saturday night was the presence of MK Menahem Porush (Agudat Yisrael) chairman of the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee. Porush, who managed on Thursday to get the two sides talking again, had offered to act as an intermediary for the duration of the negotiations.

But the Treasury strongly objects to carrying on negotiations through an intermediary. Treasury Director-General Ezra Sadan said on Friday that the Finance Ministry will reject any "outside parties" in the talks.

Speaking on Israel Television's weekly newscast, Sadan also said that the Treasury will not deviate from the 22 per cent wage rise set down in the 1982 collective wage agreement.

The Treasury apparently is afraid that Porush, in an effort to achieve a solution, might lean towards the doctors and pressure

(Continued on page 2.)

The violence on the West Bank

Tension escalated on the West Bank last week following several clashes between Jewish settlers and their Arab neighbours. In the wake of the new violence, security forces received reports that settlers from the Hebron area were planning vigilante action against Arab residents of the Arab village of Yatta, scene of several stone-throwing incidents.

Meanwhile, there were calls in the Knesset to outlaw the tiny militant "Kach" group led by Rabbi Meir Kahane. Police last week were continuing their search for a Kach supporter wanted for questioning in connection with the wounding by gunfire of a four-year-old Arab girl in Hebron late last month.

In addition to its alleged violence against West Bank Arabs, the Kahane group was reportedly linked to violence against Jews. Kach members have been questioned in connection with the death of Emil Grunzweig, who died after a bomb was thrown during a Peace Now protest rally in Jerusalem last month.

Kach agitates for expulsion of Palestinians from Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip. Two supporters of the movement have been remanded into custody by the Jerusalem Magistrates Court, which forbade publication of any details on the case.

Police said that they were looking for another suspect in the Kiryat Arba Yeshiva — Kiryat Arba is the Jewish town adjacent to Hebron and the Kach settlement of El

Nakam in the Hebron hills.

It was reported Sunday that a Kach member has admitted that he was involved in a shooting incident in an Arab village on the West Bank last week. He was arrested at Ben-Gurion Airport as he was about to leave the country.

Presenting his motion to outlaw Kach, Mupim's Ya'ir Tzaban said that by any accepted test, Kach is a fascist and racist group.

He recalled that former Supreme Court Justice Moshe Ezioni, who headed the central elections committee for the Tenth Knesset, proposed the invalidation of the Kach list on the grounds that its platform called, in effect, for the enactment of "Nuremberg Laws" with respect to the Arab population.

Kahane himself has now been banned from addressing schools, a privilege shared by political parties to help broaden the perspective of pupils.

Earlier in the week, four or five settlers from Karmel, southeast of Hebron, entered a boys' school in Yatta, and reportedly fired into the air and threatened the teachers and students with their weapons after they were stoned as they drove

through the large village. They detained two boys and handed them over to the police.

At the Dehaishe refugee camp south of Bethlehem, residents fled to the camp's eastern outskirts in panic after settlers from Kiryat Arba and other Jewish settlements in the area blocked the main road to Jerusalem.

The settlers arrived in several cars, which they parked in the road so as to halt traffic, and held placards and chanted slogans warning the Arab residents that they will not tolerate more stone throwing. They also demanded firmer action from the Israel Defence Forces to stop the stone attacks which they said are an almost daily risk when they travel through the administered areas.

Last month, an Israeli woman soldier died after she was stoned while travelling in a car.

In Ramallah, a woman soldier was slightly injured in the face by glass splinters when the windscreen of the car she was travelling in was smashed by a rock.

Following demonstrations and stonethrowing, the Nabulus casbah

(Continued on page 3.)

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Implications of the SAM-5s

By WOLF BLITZER
Post Washington Correspondent

An immediate Israeli response to the recently installed Soviet-manned SA-5 missiles in Syria is unlikely, according to sources in Jerusalem and in Washington, who denied Syrian allegations that the U.S. and Israel are planning "a new offensive."

Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf (lieut.gen.) Rafael Eitan said last week that Israel has no intention of attacking the anti-aircraft missile sites or the Syrian army. He said Israel and the U.S. are in close contact on the Syrian situation, and "we are on the same wavelength."

Prime Minister Menachem Begin called the Russian missiles a danger to both Israel and the American Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. "Let us hope they do not use them," he told a meeting of the Jewish Agency's board of governors.

In Washington, informed sources said the administration does not expect an Israeli attack in the near future, although Israel has the military and technological capability to knock out the SAMs.

What could be expected to trigger an Israeli preemptive strike would be the introduction of additional Soviet-supplied shorter-range missiles designed to protect the new SA-5 missile sites, authoritative U.S. sources said.

The U.S. has not flatly warned Israel against undertaking such a strike, the sources said. But neither has Washington given Israel a "green light."

Instead, the Reagan administration has simply shared with Jerusalem much of its information and intelligence on the dispatch of the SA-5s to Syria. The missile systems were reportedly accompanied by about 5,000 Soviet advisers.

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has spoken out sharply against the missile deployment, stressing the potential for further instability in the region.

According to the U.S. sources, Israel would clearly lose several of its fighter aircraft in an operation to destroy the new missiles, but there is no doubt, the sources insisted, that the Israel Air Force could get the job done.

In recent weeks, senior U.S. officials have given much thought to the possibility of an Israeli air strike against the SA-5s. It has been of deep concern, largely because Soviet personnel could be killed in the operation. No one here is certain how Moscow would respond.

The U.S. assessment is that the original Soviet decision to send the long-range missiles to Syria — the first time they have ever been stationed outside the immediate Soviet orbit — was probably made before Yuri Andropov succeeded the late Leonid Brezhnev as Soviet Communist Party leader.

The decision, the U.S. sources said, was probably seen by a clearly embarrassed Moscow as politically necessary to shore up its standing in Syria and other radical Arab countries in the wake of Israel's smashing defeat of Soviet-supplied weapons and aircraft during the war in Lebanon.

The problem for Kremlin policymakers, the U.S. sources said, is that they probably have not thought through all the strategic implications of the escalation in their direct involvement in Syria.

ARENS' NEW LINE

(Continued from page 1)

he added, "There's been some reason for optimism in the last few days." He did not elaborate.

In Beirut Lebanese Foreign Minister Elie Salem said his country could slip back into civil war if established normal relations with Israel at present.

A Lebanese spokesman at the tripartite talks said last week that Lebanon would agree to Israeli soldiers carrying out patrols in South Lebanon in coordination with the Lebanese Army after the Israel Defence Forces pullback.

Syrian Information Minister Ahmed Iskander reiterated over the weekend that Syrian troops will leave Lebanon only when Israeli forces pull out.

In an interview with a Libyan weekly, Iskander called for an immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal, and said Syria is supporting the Beirut government to enable it to reject any Israeli conditions.

In Lebanon itself, three Israeli soldiers were wounded when their convoy ran into an ambush south of Damour in Lebanon.

The convoy — a bus and two trucks — was on its way from Ein Zahlatu to Israel. When attackers opened light arms fire on the coastal road.

Meanwhile, Israeli-backed South

Dry Bones



Lebanon militia commander Maj. Sa'ad Haddad said last week that he has completed the deployment of his forces in the Bekaa Valley and has established positions throughout the 45-kilometre security belt in Southern Lebanon.

(When asked the size of his forces, Haddad declined to answer. Recent press reports estimate his militia at 1,500 men. But knowledgeable sources say "there's no way of knowing.")

(Compiled from reports by David Landau, Joshua Brilliant, Menachem Horowitz, and in Washington, Wolf Blitzer)

EDITORIAL COMMENT

Looking anew at Lebanon

THERE ARE indications that the government is reappraising its policy on Lebanon. And so it should. For there is an iron rule that has emerged from Israel's involvement in Lebanon: each day that passes without a resolution is to Israel's disadvantage.

This rule was true during the fighting itself, it was true during the long negotiations to get the PLO out of West Beirut, it was true during the wasteful sparring that took place before the Halde talks got started, and it has been true since.

The costs of delay, in recent months, have been obvious to all. Israel has been forced to adopt a thankless and impossible policeman's role in the Shouf region; Israeli troops have become the targets of ever increasing terrorist incidents; Syria, with Soviet help, has recovered from the initial shocks of the war, and has been emboldened to maintain its grip on Lebanon irrespective of the Halde talks; relations with the U.S. — and others — have been soured; the PLO has found it easier to reassert itself politically, and to restore some elements of presence in Beirut; the Israeli army has been forced to divert huge resources and sacrifice training time for its occupation functions in Lebanon.

The assumption of office by the new defence minister, Moshe Arens, provides a new opportunity for the Cabinet to review its policy. Mr. Arens, while no less committed to the goals that propelled Israel into the Lebanese War, is nevertheless free of the scars of the domestic debate that accompanied the war in its many phases. He should, therefore, be able to make cooler assessments of Israel's tactical commitments, both political and military, than his colleagues for whom the Lebanese involvement has become a maze of emotion.

They fear that compromise of some of Israel's fixed positions could be tantamount to admission of failure. And on a more significant level, they fear that Israel, if not firm, could be rolled back to a position that, potentially at least, could leave it more vulnerable on the northern border than it was before the war.

But it has long been apparent that the grand strategic aims of remaking Lebanon and its relations with Israel and Syria, which guided Arik Sharon and presumably Mr. Begin in embarking on war, are out of reach. What is left is to establish arrangements for the security of the north. Focussing more sharply on that, and leaving Lebanon's larger problems to others would be the key to liberating the nation and the army from the morass.

NEWS REPORT

Arabs, Jews in North try to ease mistrust

By YOEL DAR
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Some 60 Jewish and Arab chairmen of local authorities in the North are meeting in Tiberias this week to find a way to improve relations between the two communities. It will be the first public meeting between Jewish and Arab senior representatives in the area.

Eli Ovadia, Afula mayor, one of those who initiated the meeting, told *The Jerusalem Post* last week that the increasing feelings of polarization and radicalization among the young generation of both Jews and Arabs motivated him to do something to improve the atmosphere.

Ovadia believes that meetings between Jewish and Arab pupils, joint sporting events and closer contact would lead to more mutual respect and understanding. "We Jews and Arabs live in the same area, and the question is how to remove the mood of mistrust."

The project was proposed several months ago, when Ovadia invited 14 Jewish and Arab chairmen of local councils to discuss the worsening situation. The participants welcomed the initiative and the Interior Ministry also gave its blessing.

The organizers agreed to set aside sensitive national

and political problems and to discuss local problems concerning the day-to-day affairs of the two populations. We are looking for "a common language and not topics which might worsen our relations," Ovadia said.

Meanwhile, the Communist-led Nazareth municipality promised that its representative will attend the meeting. Nazareth Mayor Tewfik Zayyad, a Rakah MK, said that understanding between the two peoples must be based on equality, respect and development projects for all residents. He opposed setting up further Jewish settlements in the Galilee at the expense of Arab residents.

Some moderate chairmen of Arab local councils are expected to call on their Jewish colleagues to join in the struggle against the Interior Ministry's decision on the incorporation of land belonging to Arab residents in the Misgav regional council.

The Jewish participants will urge their Arab counterparts to exert pressure on Arab youth not to use Land Day, scheduled for March 30, as an excuse to block the main roads, burn tires or raise the PLO flags, as they did last year.

Land Day marks the disturbances of 1976, in which six Arabs were killed.

Avnery won't be prosecuted

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The case against Uri Avnery of the Sheli Party for his meeting with Yasser Arafat in beleaguered West Beirut last June has been dropped. *The Jerusalem Post* has learned.

The government had asked the Haifa district attorney to consider prosecuting Avnery for illegally leaving the country to go to Lebanon, but an examination showed that he had gone officially as editor of his *Ha'alam Haseh* weekly, with full permission of the army and accompanied by an escort officer, like hundreds of other journalists.

Once in Beirut, Avnery gave his escort the slip and crossed into the western sector for his meeting with the PLO chairman. But he did not commit an offence in doing so, though he violated his implied word of honour to stay with his escort officer.



Youth groups demonstrated outside the Finnish Embassy in Tel Aviv last week to demand freedom for Prisoner of Zion Yosef Begun, who is serving a three-year sentence of exile in Siberia. Finland has been handling Soviet interests in Israel since the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations in 1967. (IPPA)

Argov's three attackers sentenced to 30-35 years

LONDON. — The chief of an Arab assassination squad was jailed at the weekend for 35 years for trying to kill Israel's ambassador in London last June.

The gunman, who seriously wounded the ambassador in the head, and the third member of the squad, were each imprisoned for 30 years.

Ambassador Shlomo Argov, who was gunned down outside a London hotel, is now in a Jerusalem hospital, almost totally paralysed.

Judge William Mars-Jones told the three attackers: "We will not tolerate gangs of terrorists operating in this country, or their campaigns of violence."

The leader was Iraqi merchant Naouf Rosan, 36. The others were Jordanian students: Hussein Said, 23, who was wounded and captured at the scene of the shooting, and Murwan al-Banna, 20.

The prosecution said they belonged to a Baghdad-based group headed by Sabri al-Banna, who is known as Abu Nidal and has broken with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Police told the court the attack on Argov was to have started a campaign of assassinations of Jews and Arabs in Britain.

Weapons and a list of organizations and names, including the Jordanian ambassador, were found at the men's homes, police said.

The court heard that a letter in Rosan's room emphasized the group's opposition to Arabs supporting the PLO and gave instructions to collect information so that United Arab Emirates targets could be attacked.

Said shot Argov as he left a diplomatic banquet at the Dorchester Hotel.

The ambassador's police bodyguard, Colin Simpson, chased Said along dim backstreets and shot him when he refused to halt.

A guard at a nearby hotel took the number of the group's getaway car, leading police to Rosan and al-Banna.

Said was cleared of attempting to murder Simpson and of using his gun to resist arrest. The others were convicted of various weapon offences.

Mubarak reaffirms Camp David

CAIRO (Reuter). — President Hosni Mubarak last week reaffirmed Egypt's support for the Palestine cause, but also its commitment to the Camp David peace agreements with Israel.

His statement, on the eve of his departure for New Delhi for the Non-Aligned summit, was his first reaction to a resolution by the Palestine National Council which linked restoring relations with Cairo on its abandoning the Camp David accords.

The president, quoted by Information Minister Safwat Sherif, told parliamentarians the Camp David agreements contain a framework for solving the Palestine problem. He took issue with the PNC for urging the Palestine Liberation Organization to promote ties with "Egypt's nationalist forces," a term usually interpreted here as a reference to opposition parties which denounced the Camp David accords.

In an unprecedented attack against the PLO, Mubarak said he could not allow any interference by the PLO in Egypt's internal affairs. (Israel-Egypt negotiations, page 16.)

Dining? Out



Senior Foreign Ministry officials declined to dine with visiting Norwegian Foreign Minister Svend Stray last week. The Israelis were acting in accordance with sanctions the ministry staff are applying, to press their demands for improved pay and working conditions.

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The aid bubble

VIEWPOINT / L. Yehuda Laufer

WHENEVER the U.S. Congress begins its annual consideration of the foreign aid legislation, as it is now doing, it is proper for Israelis to take note and to reflect on how these deliberations may affect their economic welfare, not to speak of their military and political survival.

Certain politicians make bold assertions about Israel's "economic miracle" of near full employment, while in the U.S., the employment rate is almost 11 per cent. Israel's "economic miracle" could collapse very quickly, if the U.S. aid bubble were to burst. Not that this is likely to happen tomorrow. But a policy of chronic and excessive economic dependency on U.S. aid — that of successive Israeli governments — is neither prudent nor in the interest of long-term friendship, between the U.S. and Israel.

During the first 22 years of Israel's existence as a state, total U.S. government assistance amounted to slightly more than \$1.26b. It was oriented largely toward economic objectives.

While important, it accounted for only about 20 per cent of Israel's chronic trade deficit. Moreover, the economy was, for the most part, growing vigorously, and Israel's dependency on foreign imports, including U.S. aid, was declining proportionately. A gradual phase-out could be foreseen.

Since 1971, the situation has been totally different — quantitatively and qualitatively. U.S. aid in the last 13 years totalled \$24.3b., some 65 to 75 per cent of Israel's annual trade deficit. Although nearly two-thirds of the aid is in the form of grants, total indebtedness and annual debt service payments to the U.S. are constantly growing.

The bulk of the aid goes toward the purchase of ever more sophisticated and expensive weaponry; thus its influence on the growth of the domestic economy is limited. Yet, it has enabled Israel to continue financing high levels of consumer good imports, without proportional growth in the export

sector. As a result of all these factors, Israel's dependency on U.S. aid has clearly increased, compared to earlier years. Furthermore, with Israel's nearly stagnating economy, it has emerged as a key element in supporting this country's comfortable standard of living.

U.S. OFFICIALS have gone out of their way repeatedly to disavow any intention of using their enormous power over the Israeli economy in the increasingly frequent confrontations with Jerusalem. On the contrary, the prevailing U.S. thesis since the days when Henry Kissinger was secretary of state has been that a "satisfied" Israel — militarily and economically secure — is more likely to show flexibility than one pushed against the wall by threats of abandonment and punishment.

Washington's decision-makers, however, would have to be saints or fools to ignore the power conferred on them by virtue of their unique relationship to Israel in the aid sphere. This must be so particularly in light of emerging strategic divergences between the U.S. and the present Israeli government — a relatively new phenomenon between the two countries.

Yet there have been in the past instances of conflicting interests when the "aid card" was played. The first notable one occurred at the end of the Sinai Campaign of 1956, when President Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary John Foster Dulles sought to persuade Israel to accept a cease-fire, and later to withdraw completely from Sinai. Documents from the period, now available, show that the threat to cut off aid — including even private contributions

from American Jews — was used repeatedly by U.S. officials.

During the Nixon Administration, delays in military supply occurred on several occasions, simultaneously with hard bargaining between the U.S. administration and Israel. The most serious, and controversial delays affected resupply during and after the Yom Kippur War, at the very time Secretary Kissinger was trying to halt Israel in Sinai and on the Syrian front. In one of his last acts as president, Richard Nixon instructed Secretary Kissinger to make the preparations for not meeting new Israeli arms requests, as well as current deliveries, until Israel agreed to a comprehensive peace agreement.

The fact that the papers were never signed, because Nixon resigned three days later does not detract from the seriousness of the contemplated action. The tactic of delayed deliveries or "temporary suspensions" continued into the Ford Administration and has survived even into the Reagan Administration.

It is only fair to state that these incidents have been the exception rather than the rule, and that recent U.S. administrations, as well as Congress, have generally refrained from using aid as a blunt weapon to bend Israel to their will. In fact, Congress has consistently over the years added funds or improved the terms of aid proposals from the Administration. Only a few months ago, over the objections of the Reagan Administration, Congress transferred over half a billion dollars in the current aid package from the loan to the grant category.

THE REASONS for America's record of generosity toward Israel, and notably the actions of Congress, are well-known. They are to be found in shared democratic values, which have inspired both countries, and in the perception of a shared strategic objective — the emergence of a peaceful and united Middle East as a bulwark against potential Soviet expansionism.

These foundations of cooperation and friendship, of which the assistance programme is a major symbol, are being severely tested by the policies of the present Israeli government. One does not have to be a prophet of doom to see that if these policies continue, the clash of interests may sharpen to the point where, sooner or later, the aid programme will be affected.

Quite aside from this possibility, is it not time for Israeli decision-makers to consider the long-term implications of this abnormal dependency? Is it not an ever-present threat to the health and security of the Israeli economy? (It represents self-destructive cynicism and an erosion of moral fibre created by years of a *shomer* mentality. And hostility and frustration grow from chronic feelings of dependency from which there seems to be no end.

The very fabric of Israeli society is potentially threatened, and those who bear the responsibility of leadership have shied away from action to remedy the situation. On the contrary, like the addict who needs successively greater "fixes" just to keep going, Israel no doubt will be asking for greater U.S. assistance in view of the rising cost of weaponry and a rising balance-of-payments deficit, in part due to increased imports of consumer goods.

In 1975, a group of academics submitted to the Likud Executive an "emergency economy" plan, designed to reduce economic dependence on the U.S. Nothing was ever heard of it again. Evidently, the analysis and the recommendations were too painful and politically unpalatable.

Even now there is no indication

of any serious planning by the government to reduce its dependency, or to deal with the contingency of a sudden aid cutoff or major reduction. No doubt it is easier to "live dangerously" to believe that Israel's moral and political capital among the American public and Congress will ward off any drastic tampering with the aid programme. Thus the insidious long-term effects on Israel are ignored.

But 1983 is not 1975. Although support for Israel still runs deep, much of the moral and political capital in the U.S. has been squandered. The insidious effects of the dependency relationship are also coming to the fore, as leading political figures seek to manipulate the frustrations of the public with anti-American orations. These dangers can no longer be disregarded. As a minimum, the following conclusions suggest themselves:

□ Let us not take U.S. aid for granted. While deeply embedded in the U.S.-Israel relationship, it is not immune to attack or erosion in the event of conflicting policy or strategic objectives.

□ Let us recognize the present dimensions of U.S. aid as an "abnormal" condition, whose long-term political, moral and psychological implications are undesirable for Israel, as well as for the U.S.

□ Let us initiate planning, on a professional and political level for the gradual reduction of U.S. assistance. At the same time, let us prepare contingency plans to deal with any sudden suspension of, or reduction in, U.S. aid.

These steps may not be pleasant to contemplate, but they are essential to Israel's long-term welfare. In the long run, they will strengthen the foundations of friendship between the U.S. and Israel.

The writer is a senior research fellow at the Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations of the Hebrew University.

FOCUS

Share prices decline

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — In spite of hopes to the contrary, share prices sagged badly last week on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. The general share index, excluding bank shares, declined by 7.8 per cent. Heavy losses were absorbed by industrials, investment companies and commerce and service shares, with each of these groups declining by more than 9 per cent.

The public has absented itself from the market. Turnovers have been running at a rate of about 25 per cent of the average daily turnovers in December and January. The general investing atmosphere has been poor and has not been helped by a spate of law suits that are being filed following the sharp market falls which took place in January.

In the meantime bankers report that massive sums are accumulating in current shekel accounts as well as in current foreign-currency accounts. An indication of this build-up is to

be reflected in last week's lowering of interest rates paid to the banks by depositors of shekels. The commercial bank shares continued to advance but some issues in this sector such as Danot, the First International Bank of Israel and the Israel Maritime Bank came under heavy selling pressures and their prices retreated accordingly.

The shekel was devalued by only 1 per cent in the week under review. Israeli shares, registered for trading on the American markets generally traded uneventfully. The shares of Scitex, however, were a standout as they crossed the \$32 mark. The company's management has announced its intention to effect a 2 for 1 split.

Elron Electronic Industries has filed application covering a new financing on the American over-the-counter market which is intended to raise approximately \$32m. If there is no hitch in obtaining the required approvals, this secondary issue should become effective towards the end of this month.

(See page 20)

Briton wins

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. — English international runner Alan McGee last week won Hapoel's third annual Tel Aviv Marathon with plenty to spare.

McGee, a 25-year-old Carlisle gardener, who finished runner-up in 1981, covered the 42km. course in a record 2 hours, 22 minutes, and 34 seconds, to gain his first international marathon title. Favourite Barry Kneppers of Holland dropped out mid-way apparently because of leg trouble.

Second home among the 200 starters from 12 countries was American John Stukeby, who clocked 2:25.49, while Israel's tennis coach-cum-runner Ronnie Sender claimed a creditable third place — as last winter — in 2:30.56.

Record immigration from UK in 1982

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The number of British Jews, 1,256, who immigrated to Israel in 1982 was the highest since the state was established in 1948, according to the World Zionist Organization immigration department in London. It was an increase of 30 per cent over 1981.

The department said one of the main reasons for the upsurge was the difficult economic situation here. Another important factor was the poor quality of Jewish education.

Maccabi win

Post Sports Reporter

A great second-half performance lifted Maccabi Tel Aviv to a vital 94-84 victory over the reigning champions, Ford Cantu of Italy, last week, giving the Israeli champions a fine chance of qualifying for the European Cup basketball finals later this month.

Another sterling performance by Earl Williams and a wonderful stop-gap role by Howard Lassoff helped Maccabi pick themselves up when they seemed down and out in a courageous drive to the title that delighted the fans who packed Yad Eliyahu Stadium for the concluding home game of the season.

Maccabi face the daunting, but by no means impossible task, of beating Billy Milano in Milan by at least seven points in their last European Cup basketball match on Thursday night if they are to have any chance of qualifying for the final in Grenoble on March 24.

STANDINGS

Team	W	L	For	Agst	Pts
Ford	6	3	750	689	15
Billy	6	3	727	698	15
Real	5	4	802	785	14
CSKA	5	4	776	750	14
Maccabi	5	4	799	770	14
Cibona	—	9	724	885	9

SOCCER. — Because of the bad weather only one game was played to a finish in the National Soccer League on Saturday. The game, between Maccabi Petah Tikva (playing at home) and Hapoel Jerusalem ended in a 0-0 draw.



Ofra Haza was chosen at the weekend to represent Israel at the Eurovision song contest next month in Munich. The winning song is *Ani Od Hai* (I'm Still Alive), lyrics by Ehud Manor and music by Avi Toledano.

Winter fury

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel has weathered another stormy weekend with more of the same predicted for this week, — with spring only 15 days away, according to the calendar.

Snow blanketed Jerusalem over the weekend — the 12th day of snow this winter, the most since 1919.

The weatherman said that the current cold front hovering over the region came from Russia, by way of the Black Sea and Turkey. The maximum temperature in the capital on Saturday was four degrees centigrade, and the thermometer plunged to minus one.

Throughout Jerusalem, homes and streets were flooded, trees were felled by winds and several buildings collapsed.

Flooding also hit the Dead Sea area, where 15 vehicles were rescued after being caught in the water.

Heavy rain hit the coastal plain as well, forcing closure of the Petah Tikva-Haifa road several times due to flooding. The temperature in Tel Aviv ranged from 8 to 12. It was much lower in the higher areas.

DEER. — The Nature Reserves Authority has announced a substantial increase in the number of deer in southern Ramat Hagolan and in Ramat Issachar. The authority attributes this to the implementation of anti-hunting laws.

VIOLENCE ON WEST BANK

(Continued from page 1)

and the Jelazoun refugee camp were placed under curfew. Disturbances were also reported from the Askar and Balata refugee camps near Nablus.

In Jenin, rocks were thrown at Israeli cars and at the car of the local mayor, who was appointed by the military government. The mayor, Shehab Sanouri, opened fire at the stone-throwers with his pistol. No injuries were reported.

Students at An-Najah University in Nablus and at the Islamic University in Hebron held protest strikes on Saturday, while inmates at the Hebron prison are reported to have begun a hunger strike.

Two weeks ago a bomb placed under a pile of stones alongside a mosque in Hebron's ancient market exploded wounding two persons. Last week, a bomb was dismantled in Jerusalem's Old City. Police detained 16 persons for questioning.

In Jerusalem Magistrate's Court, Benayahu Aharoni, 23, who had been accused of threatening Grunzweig during the Peace Now march in Jerusalem last month, was found guilty of disturbing the peace.

He was sentenced to a year's jail suspended for three years and fined \$25,000.

The prosecution withdrew section of the charge against Aharoni in which he was accused of threatening to "destroy" Grunzweig and "urinate on his grave." The magistrate, Dalia Kobel, said when passing sentence that "the court is obliged to root out all types of behaviour which could lead to public disorder."

The carob

TORA AND FLORA
L.I. Rabinowitz

Last week's portion: *Ki Tissa*, Exodus 30:11—34 end. The verse discussed is 30:13.

APART FROM the suggestion made by Ibn Ezra to the effect that the *gera* mentioned in Exodus 30:13 is the seed of the carob, this tree, though undoubtedly indigenous to Israel, is not mentioned even once in the Bible. (I utterly reject the suggestion that the words in Isaiah 1:19 rendered "Ye shall be devoured by the sword" depend upon a corrupt text, and that the correct reading is "Ye shall eat carobs.")

On no subject have I received such an extensive and voluminous correspondence over the years as I have on the carob; I have sufficient material to write a small book on it! But it is not only in this connection that the lowly carob can be said to

have come into its own. From being the most despised and neglected of foods, it has recently risen to prominence as one of the healthiest agricultural products, one of high nutritional value. The carob appears in two statements in the Talmud. One refers to a voice heard from on high, declaring that although the whole world subsisted through the merits of the saintly Hanina ben Dosa, he himself subsisted on one *kab* of carobs, from one week's end to the next. The other says the carob was the sole means of subsistence for Simeon b. Yohai and his son during the 12 years they were in hiding from the Romans.

These two statements bear witness, albeit indirectly, to the carob's nutritional value, which is being commercially exploited today. Carobs are used to make what is touted as a satisfying chocolate substitute, and health food stores here offer various carob products. The carob is still widely used in Israel as cattle fodder.

However, she said she would take into account that Aharoni had expressed regret at his behaviour. In a related development, a border policeman who allegedly used unreasonable force against a Peace Now demonstrator at the February 10 demonstration, will be disciplined, police said. The demonstrator, David Ish-Shalom, of Ramat Gan, had complained that he was dragged into a Border Police bus, thrown on the floor and beaten.

The two investigating officers, said that immediately after the blast, Ish-Shalom began shouting "murderers, murderers," and tried to break into the line of police encircling the blast area. The police who removed him and took him to the bus used reasonable force, the investigator said.

However, the investigators added, Ish-Shalom identified a Border Policeman who used unreasonable force against him inside the bus. This man will be disciplined "in the usual manner," the announcement said. It added that a medical examination showed that Ish-Shalom suffered no serious bodily harm.

(Compiled from reports by David Richardson, Aryeh Rubinstein and Haim Shapiro)

Burg is Likud choice

The ruling Likud coalition in the Knesset has overwhelmingly chosen Interior Minister Yosef Burg as its choice for president. But Burg does not want to stand without the support of the opposition Alignment.

(Earlier report page 7.)

'Collision course'

By WOLF BLITZER/Washington



Blitzer

Dine

THE EXECUTIVE director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), Tom Dine, believes that "U.S.-Israel relations are seriously strained." The U.S. and Israel "are now on a collision course, and I believe the most important consideration for us today is to ask why this is happening and what can be done to stop the deterioration in the relationship."

AIPAC is the officially-registered pro-Israel lobbying organization on Capitol Hill.

Dine, who has just returned from a visit to Israel, where he met Prime Minister Begin and other leaders, summed up his views in an address to an AIPAC "workshop on politics" in Atlanta. It was a stunning indictment of the Administration's policy towards Israel.

Dine, who recently returned from witnessing relations on the Reagan Administration, especially Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and his "readiness, indeed eagerness" to assume "the worst about Israel."

He accused the administration of removing all pro-Israel voices from the inner circles of decision-making. "Since the forced resignation of Alexander Haig," Dine said, "no individual participates at the top levels of the president's entourage with real expertise dealing with Israel or sensitivity to its concerns. By contrast, there are several well-known figures with a deep attachment to the Arab point of view. In general, the Middle East

policy-makers can be described as a curious mixture of Arabists and anti-Arabs."

As a result, Dine said, the administration has "pursued a policy of systematically excluding Israel from U.S. defence planning for the region while lawfully courting certain Arab states whose conduct contradicts and conflicts with U.S. foreign policy. The administration is obsessed with demonstrating to the Arabs that we will pass all of their litmus tests. Much of the day-to-day

conduct of foreign policy is taken up with finding new ways to tell them that we love them."

DISPITE DENIALS that the administration intends to impose sanctions against Israel, Dine continued, "it has in fact invoked more sanctions over a longer period than any preceding administration, and is now quietly threatening, through press leaks and other devices, to do more of the same."

He cited the delay in selling Israel



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Secrecy over bequests to state lifted

By ASHER WALLFISH
For the first time ever, the public last week got detailed information on how a special committee of ministers allocates non-earmarked bequests to the state.

Administrator-General Amram Blum told correspondents how some \$80 million had been shared out during 1982, and announced that some \$100m. would be shared out this year by the committee, according to a fixed proportion laid down by the cabinet some years ago.

The government's decision to publish the information resulted in part from exposés in *The Jerusalem Post*, and then in other newspapers, and from demands in the Knesset Finance Committee, hints by the State Comptroller, and a decision by Justice Minister Moshe Nissim, who saw no reason why the allocation of charity should be classified.

Last year, for the first time, interested institutions were told in a notice in *Reshumot*, the official gazette, that they had the right to request allocations from non-earmarked bequests to the state.

Previously, this information was passed from hand to hand among the favoured few.

Blum told correspondents that between 1972 and 1982 the total amount of non-earmarked bequests went up dramatically, from less than \$1m. to more than \$8.5m., as a result of planned efforts to seek out would-be legators.

He said that receipts had dipped somewhat recently, and charged that press publicity in Israel was the cause. He did not name the newspapers in question.

The administrator-general revealed that very few Israelis leave money to the state without specifying the recipient institution. Nearly three-quarters of the non-earmarked bequests last year came from Europe and only some \$2.5m. from the United States.

Blum did not say whether more money was being left to earmarked bequests lately by legators who knew exactly what purpose they had in mind, or whether other causes, such as the Lebanon war or attitudes to government policy, might

have deterred some would-be legators.

Blum said that fascinating stories sometimes come to light when Jews abroad leave property or money to the state. One current case involves a farm on the Italian Riviera, worth some \$1m., which was left by a family claiming to have farmed the land for 2,000 years, since its forebears were exiled from Judea by Titus. Another case involves an estate in Portugal worth some \$2m.

He said that often, when a legator without heirs leaves a bequest to Israel, a common-law wife turns up just in time to lodge her claim as well.

He attributed the large number of bequests from Europe to the many Holocaust survivors who died here.

The Treasury has been trying over the past few years to influence the committee of ministers to approve the grants according to logical criteria, and not merely in the wake of personal or political pressures upon the minister responsible.

The Treasury's general aim is that

the funds replace or complement budget grants to the recipient institutions.

The Treasury intends this year to notify the committee of which spheres of activity it suggests for the allocation of the grants, and which criteria should be taken into account by the ministers in deciding on the recipients and the size of the grants.

The state will apparently come into possession of a treasure of gold and jewel ornaments, which were deposited in the early 1940's in an old trunk in Bank Leumi's central branch in Jerusalem.

Blum said the bank asked him to take and open the old trunk. "We opened it and to our surprise we found ancient Christian sacred objects inside," he said.

It is believed the trunk was deposited in the bank by a priest fleeing from Egypt when the Nazi armies threatened to reach the Nile in 1941.

Israeli efforts to find the priest in Egypt have so far proved unsuccessful.



Yitzhak Moda'i

Ministers vie for TV job

Jerusalem Post Staff

Government action to set up a second television channel may be speeded up as a result of rivalry between three ministers who are all anxious to have a hand in the scheme.

After Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i surprised his colleagues at last week's cabinet session by presenting a proposal for the second, commercial channel, to be supervised by three ministers — one of whom would be himself — the other two he mentioned revealed that they were on the point of drafting their own proposals without Moda'i. They were Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori.

Hammer said later that supervision by three ministers, as Moda'i suggested, was unacceptable. Hammer said his own proposal would be ready to be submitted to the cabinet this week and could be ratified by the cabinet by Passah.

Zipori told the cabinet he already fixed a meeting with Hammer and Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir to discuss a proposal for the second channel.

The course of the cabinet discussion indicated that Hammer wanted to extend his parliamentary responsibility for the existing television channel to the second channel without sharing control. Zipori, meanwhile, wanted to become a partner with Hammer in commercial TV, which is not the case with the Israel Broadcasting Authority. Moda'i, on the other hand, sought to put the imprint of the Likud's Liberal wing on the channel alongside the imprint of the Likud's Herut wing as represented by Zipori.

Parade is off

The IDF proposal for a joint civilian-military "parade of valor" in Jerusalem at the high point of this year's 35th Independence Day celebration has fallen through because it is too expensive.

An official explained last week that when the IDF first proposed the parade it believed the cost would be much less than \$60m., which is the final estimate.

The IDF would have had to pay the \$60m. out of its annual budget. The event was to have taken place at the Hebrew University stadium. The other 40 events due to take place in the country during the "year of valor" will not cost more than the proposed parade.

The IDF is ready to hold an "exhibition of valor" instead of the parade, which will stay open from Independence Day until the end of summer.

Before suggesting the parade in the stadium, there were plans to stage a full-dress military parade through Jerusalem which would have cost between five and ten times more.

Aridor in South Africa to seek business deals



Finance Minister Yoram Aridor, leaves for Johannesburg. He is to continue on to visit the Far East.

By PETER WILHELM
Special to The Jerusalem Post
JOHANNESBURG. — Finance Minister Yoram Aridor went to South Africa last week for an "unofficial" visit. But Israel Ambassador Elisha Linkin said the visit relates to economic and financial relations between the two countries.

Aridor had been scheduled to arrive on February 9, but was delayed by the cabinet crisis precipitated by the report of the Kahan Commission.

Linkin says an Israeli finance and economic subcommittee arrived in February and "discussed matters of mutual economic and financial importance" with their South African counterparts.

The ambassador indicated that Aridor's visit will tie up the issues under discussion. He declined to reveal details pending ratification and ministerial approval of any announcements.

Such subcommittee meetings, Linkin said, have taken place "from time to time," and commercial and economic agreements have been signed in the past. But some observers believe that the minister's presence signals a "major deal" in the offing.

Aridor was scheduled to meet with Finance Minister Owen Horowitz at week's end.

An official of the South African Foreign Trade Organization (SAFTO), which assists the private sector in import-export matters, points out that a ministerial visit would not be required if the discussions merely centred on matters such as tourism, credit lines, tariff arrangements, fishing rights in South African waters, and joint industrial ventures.

In addition, such matters, which have been reported as forming the basis of the discussions, would more properly involve the South African Ministry of Industries, Commerce and Tourism — and not that of Finance.

Speculation is that military and security affairs, including arms deals, could be the fulcrum of the talks. However, any details of this nature, or of nuclear co-operation, are prohibited from publication by South African legislation, and in fact no details are available in relation to Aridor's visit.

South African-Israel trade is on the increase, with the balance in Israel's favour until last year. SAFTO figures for 1981, the last full year for which statistics are available, put South African exports to Israel at \$64.5 million (\$52.25b.) and imports from that country at \$71m. (\$52.5b.).

However, for the first seven

months of 1982, the figures show a big swing in South Africa's favour. Exports to Israel for this period were \$77m. (\$52.69b.), compared to \$33m. (\$51.15b.) for the same 1981 period, and imports totalled \$36m. (\$51.26b.) compared to \$33m. (\$51.15b.) in January-July, 1981.

In recent years, South Africa has become a prime supplier of base metals and coal for Israel's plants and power stations, while Israel sells South Africa machinery, textiles,

chemicals, prepared foods, resins, and plastics.

Undoubtedly, Aridor will be seeking advantageous trade agreements, and possibly new capital investments, from South Africa.

One local source said there has been a "favourable environment and general interest in Israel on the part of the private sector," so the minister's visit may be crowned with success.

Why Koch didn't visit Beirut

By MARK SEGAL
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — New York Mayor Edward Koch said last week he regrets that the Lebanese government cancelled an official invitation to visit Beirut because he planned to go there from Israel.

He told a press conference at the conclusion of a short visit to Israel and South Lebanon that the U.S. State Department, like the Lebanese government, contended that he should not enter Lebanon except via Syria or Cyprus.

"Why is it possible to go into Lebanon via territory occupied by Syria and not through the part occupied by Israel?" he asked.

Koch said he was sorry about the Lebanese move because many New Yorkers of Lebanese origin are interested in hearing about that country.

Koch, whose visit to Israel was sponsored by the Foreign Ministry, compared his meetings with Israeli officials of all shades of opinion with the Lebanese decision to keep him out. During his visit to South Lebanon, Koch said, he spoke to the mayors and civil leaders of Tyre, Sidon and Nabatiya and heard of PLO atrocities perpetrated there before the Israeli invasion.

Earlier in the week, Koch met with Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

FOCUS

Knesset rebuff for Reform and Conservative Jews

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Post Knesset Reporter

By a vote of 44-31, the Knesset last week defeated a Shinui bill that would have given Conservative and Reform movements in Judaism equal rights with those of Orthodoxy.

Most of the Liberals (the second largest group in the ruling Likud coalition) stayed out of the chamber, but Yitzhak Berman and Dror Zeigerman voted with the opposition for the bill.

Mordechai Virshubski, who presented the bill, said that all religious denominations in Israel enjoy freedom of worship and the right to maintain community life as they see fit — except Judaism. Here, by virtue of a secular law, the Conservative and Reform movements are discriminated against, despite the guarantee of freedom of religion in the Declaration of Independence.

The situation worsened under the Chief Rabbinate Law of 1980, which gives the chief rabbinate the

status of supreme *Halachic* authority for all Jews in Israel, and provides that only rabbis certified by the chief rabbinate council may register marriages, Virshubski said.

Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg said that the religious pluralism of the U.S. cannot serve as an example for Israel, for in the U.S. the various religious groups have no legal status.

Passage of the bill would mean giving the force of law to the existence of three trends in Judaism — just as there are Samaritans and Karaites, Burg said. He thought that it would be "dangerous for national unity."

The Shinui bill would also lead to "anarchy and chaos," Burg thought. He noted that a woman who obtained a Reform divorce was still married in the eyes of *Halacha*. If she remarried and had children, what would their status be? And if there was a divorce dispute, would one party go to one rabbinic and the other party to another?, he asked.

'Herzog's chances for presidency grow'

By ASHER WALLFISH
Post Knesset Correspondent

The ruling Likud lost a potential presidential candidate last week in the person of Shlomo Toussia-Cohen, but the Alignment saw the chances of Labour's Chaim Herzog steadily improving.

(The Knesset elects the next president on March 22. The Knesset Speaker has to announce the names of the candidates by the 15th.)

Toussia-Cohen came to the Knesset building on Thursday and told Justice Minister Moshe Nissim that he cannot stand for president because he is committed to stand for the Likud in the Jerusalem city

elections against incumbent Mayor Teddy Kollek.

Likud sources told *The Jerusalem Post* later that it has no other candidate.

National Religious Party leader Yosef Burg, 74, who is interior and religious affairs minister, is still reluctant to stand on behalf of the coalition, because he wants more than a bare majority.

A growing number of Alignment members said last week they will support Chaim Herzog, since Shlomo Hillel announced he will not stand.

Herzog has a catch-all image that could appeal to a broad spectrum outside of the Alignment and Shinui.

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Death of Arthur Koestler and wife

Arthur Koestler, 77, the widely acclaimed author, and his wife Cynthia, died on March 2 in London in an apparent double suicide.

Koestler was believed to have been suffering from leukemia and Parkinson's disease.

The Koestlers were members of the voluntary euthanasia society "Exit," and he became one of its vice-presidents in 1981.

Koestler was the only child of an impoverished middle-class Jewish family. His father was a typical *hahnenstein*, a rootless businessman who finally lost all his capital.

Koestler's life was made up of "magnificent" revolts and hasty retreats, the most fascinating of which was his encounter with Judaism, Zionism and Eretz Yisrael.

He left Vienna where he was a brilliant science student, in April, 1926 and landed at Haifa a few weeks later with a single British pound in his pocket. He went by foot to Kibbutz Hefziba in the Jezreel Valley, where he had an acquaintance, and hoped to become a member.

Although he was shocked by the primitive and drab surroundings, poor food and hard work, he made an effort to stay. But he was rejected.

Koestler was a declared Revisionist and revealed his intention of staying at the kibbutz no more than a year or two, and later to turn to writing or politics. This was anathema to other members, and he had to walk back to Haifa.

Koestler went hungry for almost a year. He supported himself in various occupations, including an



Koestler and wife Cynthia.

attempt to sell cold lemonade at Haifa's Arab market. He also wandered around the land, editing Revisionist bulletins.

Slowly, however, he established himself. He became for three months an assistant editor of an Arab-German journal published in Cairo. Finally, he won a much-coveted journalistic assignment and became the Middle East correspondent of the powerful German Ullstein press empire.

Koestler was soon able to rent a comfortable flat in Jerusalem's Rehov Hanavi'im. His frequent articles and interviews with important Middle Eastern personalities became a standard feature of the German press.

In 1929 he demanded a transfer and left for Paris. He justified this by his desire to identify himself

more closely with European culture. He described Hebrew as a dead language and a wall separating the *Yishuv* here from Western civilization.

Communist Party activities, a visit to Russia, reporting on the Spanish Civil War, voluntary service in the French and British armies during World War II were Koestler's stepping stones to a literary career.

Koestler was a well-informed and intelligent representative of anti-communism. He published *The Gladiators* in 1939, *Darkness at Noon* in 1940, *The Yogi and the Commissar* in 1945 and *The Trial of the Dinosaurs* in 1955. Koestler, however, eventually gave up his position as a political prophet and wrote on other subjects, including works on science.

He wrote a book on Zen Buddhism and a few books on Israel and Judaism.

His novel, *Thieves in the Night*, was a brilliant study of people's reaction to oppression. His *Judaism at the Crossroads*, however, published in 1971, raised many eyebrows. His credo was simple: if only the Jews renounced their identity, the world would love them.

Koestler reduced Israel to the status of a home for the homeless. He explained that there would be no more Buchenwalds if there were no more Jews.

In his book *The Thirteenth Tribe — the Khazar Empire and its Heritage*, Koestler attributed the origins of Ashkenazi Jewry to Khazar tribes. The book was eagerly quoted by anti-Semites the world over.

(Alexander Zvielli)

Women are third of work force

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Women constitute 37 per cent of the country's work force; they earn an average of 21 per cent less than men. These are two of the findings published last week by the Central Bureau of Statistics in a statistical abstract of working women in Israel for the year 1981.

Of the nearly two million women in Israel in 1981 (Jewish and non-Jewish) about 500,000 were employed. This work force grew by about one-third from 1970 to 1981, during which period 198,000 women (aged 14 and above) found jobs.

About 6 per cent of working-age women were unemployed and actively seeking work in 1981, com-

pared to 4 per cent of working-age men.

Scientific industries and the academic and free professions employed about one-third of the female work force in 1981, and about another third had clerical jobs.

Women who worked in industry earned about 35 per cent less than the men working in that branch and about 15 per cent less than men in the public sector. Women in scientific and academic jobs earned about 19 per cent less than their male co-workers.

Some 100,000 working Jewish mothers employed other women to care for their children or do housework.

Arens cautions cabinet over relations with U.S.

The new defence minister Moshe Arens cautioned the cabinet last week that Israel's recent recovery of the support it had enjoyed in American public opinion before the Lebanon campaign might not be permanent.

In a survey of Israel-U.S. relations covering his year as ambassador to Washington, Arens said Israel's stock in the U.S. could easily change. "The situation is very fluid just now," he said.

Arens said that the next few months would be critical in relations between the two countries.

The gap between Secretary of State George Shultz's appraisal of the issues, and Israel's appraisal, was perceptibly narrower than before, Arens declared. There was even some small measure of understanding concerning Israel's settlement policy in Judea and Samaria, though this should be seen in the correct proportion and not exaggerated, Arens said. The two countries' policies for Judea and Samaria could not be reconciled.

The new defence minister said that there was a growing awareness in the U.S. administration of what Israel could contribute to the interests of the free world in this region. The awareness grew in the wake of the Lebanon campaign, even though Israel-U.S. relations deteriorated as a result of the IDF's entry into West Beirut.

The defence establishment last week welcomed its new minister with military pomp, apprehension about the changes he will introduce and hopes for a more gentlemanly and easy atmosphere at the ministry.

Accompanied by Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, ministry Director-General Aharon Beit-Halahmi and the commander of the base, Arens entered ministry headquarters in Tel Aviv, which he had frequented in his previous posts in the Israel Aircraft Industries and later as chairman of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee.

Among the most pressing decisions awaiting Arens are who to nominate for chief of staff — Eitan is due to leave in mid-April — and who should be the next head of military intelligence replacing Aluf Yehoshua Saguy, whom the Kahan Commission recommended be removed.

A source close to Arens said he believed the minister will take his time consulting Prime Minister Menachem Begin, former Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, and the candidates for the top IDF posts. He does not want to decide immediately.



Israel's new Defence Minister, Moshe Arens (left), with his predecessor, Ariel Sharon, at the reception in Arens' honour at the Knesset. Arens, who resigned his Knesset seat on becoming ambassador in Washington just a little over a year ago, is the 20th cabinet minister and the only one who is not an MK.

ly. He wants to use all the time he can without harming the system, the source added.

The IDF's chief intelligence officer, Tat-Aluf Arye Ben-Tov, has been named to replace temporarily Saguy as director of military intelligence.

Arens told Saguy that he does not want him to resign from the IDF, and that other senior positions would be open to him in the future.

The IDF spokesman announced last week that Tat-Aluf Amos Yaron, the second officer to be

Sharon sues

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

TEL AVIV. — Former defence minister Ariel Sharon last week filed a \$10 million libel suit against *Time* magazine. He claims it wrongly presented him as having encouraged the Christian Phalangists to attack Palestinian refugees in West Beirut to avenge the murder of president-elect Bashir Jemayel.

Time said its report was based on the secret appendix to the Kahan Commission report on the Beirut massacre.

The suit was filed at the Tel Aviv District Court.

It quoted the magazine's issue of February 21 which said that the secret appendix 'B' of the Kahan report contains 'details about Sharon's visit to the Jemayel family on the day after Bashir Jemayel's assassination. Sharon reportedly told the Jemayels that the Israeli Army would be moving into West Beirut and that he expected the Christian forces to go into the Palestinian refugee camps.'

Sharon also reportedly discussed with the Jemayels the need for the Phalangists to take revenge for the assassination of Bashir...

Sharon denied the magazine's story. The secret appendix does not include this report, nor part of it in any form, he declared in his brief.

Following the filing of the Sharon suit, a *Time* representative said that the magazine stood by its story.

Israel-Egypt talks resume

Jerusalem Post Staff

Talks between Israel and Egypt on the Tabu border dispute were held in the Suez city of Ismailia last week with Egyptian sources reporting little progress.

Egyptian chief delegate Shafel Abdel-Hamid told reporters after a two-hour session that a sub-committee had been set up to "determine areas of agreement."

The Tabu talks, which opened on Wednesday following a nine-month suspension, represented an upward swing in Egyptian-Israeli relations, severely strained by Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Egypt has said it will stick to its "cool peace" policy towards Israel as long as Israeli troops remain in Lebanon.

Under a compromise formula arranged by the U.S., another set of talks on normalization of trade and other relations will also be revived later this month.

Israel is hoping that the talks on the border issue will clear of mutual recriminations but focus rather on "positive solutions" for the future.

Israeli sources said the talks at would deal with the "interim arrangements" at Tabu, not with the final solution of the question of sovereignty over the 700-metre-long strip of beach near Elit.

Egypt has complained loudly and vigorously in recent months over the opening of the Avia Sonesta hotel at Tabu, contending that this is an infringement of an agreement on negotiations signed by Israel and Egypt on April 25. The agreement states that "no new construction projects will be initiated" at Tabu in the interim period pending permanent solution of the area's status.

Meanwhile, senior Foreign Ministry officials stayed away from



Lebanese and Israeli Scout counsellors prepare to unload a bus full of clothing, blankets and shoes in the Lebanese town of Nabatiya last week. Five busloads of the winter supplies were bought with money collected by Israeli Scouts in the last few months, mostly in Arab communities.

Norway's FM backs Israel on UNIFIL

Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Norway's Foreign Minister Sverre Stray, winding up his four-day official trip here last week, said that he agrees with Israel that UNIFIL is not able to prevent terrorist activities in South Lebanon.

At a press conference in Jerusalem, Stray said that UNIFIL is "not a fighting unit nor even a policing unit." It was set up, he said, "to keep guard between two parties who had agreed to stay apart... when the dividing line between them was basically agreed upon."

The work-to-rule requires ministry staff not to work beyond 6 p.m. It has been instituted in support of the ministry staff's longstanding demand that its pay and conditions be equalized with those of the Defence Ministry and other specialized government agencies.

Norway has had a battalion in UNIFIL since the inception of the force after Operation Litani in 1978.

In the current negotiations, Israel is opposing the continued deployment of UNIFIL in South Lebanon. Israel holds that if the force is to stay in the country, it should be stationed north of the proposed "security zone" in South Lebanon.

Meanwhile, senior Foreign Ministry officials stayed away from

CORRECTION

The new settlement for American Reform Jews reported on in last week's edition is a free-enterprise community, and not a kibbutz as stated in the introduction.

PEOPLE

The return of Jimmy Carter

PUBLIC FACES
Mark Segal



Jimmy Carter

PAY NO ATTENTION to rumours and reports that the Middle East visit of Jimmy Carter who is accompanied by his wife Rosalynn and a sizeable entourage — is designed to serve as a prelude to the ex-president succeeding Philip Habib as presidential envoy to the region. I have it from the best-informed sources that it simply isn't true. They point out that President Ronald Reagan would not do anything to rehabilitate his predecessor, certainly not so close to the start of the 1984 presidential campaign.

Those who know claim that Carter's current swing is a promotional effort for his new Crisis Resolution Centre in Atlanta. They see little chance that either Prime Minister Menachem Begin or President Hosni Mubarak will accept a mooted Carter invitation to a "Camp David reunion" in September.

THE IDEA of a defence establishment farewell party for Ariel Sharon was dropped after it was greeted with little enthusiasm by some army brass. But Arik was compensated when his wife, Lily, threw a big bash at the family farm in honour of hubby's 55th birthday.

Sharon's strategic sense was highlighted by his decision not to cut the cake, which was in the form of a map of Greater Eretz Yisrael. Arik, I've been told, said he could not do anything that would divide the land of Israel, even symbolically.

HERUT string-pullers are currently engaged in an agonizing reappraisal of the power structure. Defence Minister Moshe Arens's star is really in the ascendant, especially as Yitzhak Shamir's is seen to be in a nose-dive since the Kahan Commission highlighted his subordinate role in the war cabinet's most crucial deliberations. Herutniks are speaking less and less in terms of Shamir

WHEN Bank Hapoalim chairman Ephraim Reiner was asked what was meant by "market forces" influencing currency rates in relation to the shekel, he quipped: "There are three Bank of Israel officials who

organizers had a tough time keeping bipartisan harmony in the impromptu musical trio of MKs — they rounded up Imri Ron (Mapam) with his mandolin, Akiva Nof (Likud) with his guitar and Edna Snodar (Labour) at the piano. It was originally supposed to have been either a quartet or quintet, but Labour's Shervah Weiss backed out with his mouth-organ after colleague Danny Rosoloff didn't have time to perform with his flute.

PHOTOGRAPHER Reuben Castro was awarded the prestigious George Polk Prize last week by Long Island University for his photo of an Israeli soldier giving a wounded Syrian soldier some water during the war in Lebanon. Reuben is the son of Marcel Castro, the veteran photographer of the AP bureau in Tel Aviv.

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Climbing the bandwagon

THE BETH TFILOH Congregation in Baltimore is still sending *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund delightful surprises. Two of its members, Rose Davidson and Herman Needie, deserve praise for convincing others to get on their bandwagon.

Their most recent collection of \$128 and other contributions last week add up to \$11,611.83, bringing the Toy Fund total so far to \$1,265,299.83.

Contributors include:

\$128 Beth Tfiloh Congregation, Baltimore, Md. (50) Charles Hoffberger, 518 Rosa Ave., 515 Cedar B. Terrace, 510 Julian R. Goldberg, Elva Schneider, Dr. H.N. Rubenstein, 55 Dr. and Mrs. Nachman Davidson, 1000 Dr. Friedrich Borgers, Kew-Forest, N.Y.

\$100 Keren Ami Fund, Temple Beth Sinai Congregation, Dresher, Pa.

\$100 In honour of our daughters Renana and Jennifer B. Katz, Stuart Barsticker, Haverhill, Mass.

\$100 In the spirit of... N.N. Shava Zim, 111 in honour of the birth of our son Sami Reuven, Mel and Supra Levi, Kibbutz Arugot.

\$100 Jewish War Veterans, Montreal, Canada. Walter Sherwood, Davis, Ca. Chaplain Capt. Morris M. Luerstein, San Antonio, Texas.

\$100 Anonymous well-wishers, Jerusalem.

\$100 For Yoram's 20th birthday and the 40th wedding anniversary of our parents — The Albert Family, Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem.

\$100 Anonymous, Haifa. In honour of the 4th birthday of Yehuda Baruch, first grandson of my cousin Hage Heizenberg, Tel Aviv, Bolivia Ruth Foster, Netanya.

\$100 Anonymous, 19th birthday and our parents' 49th wedding anniversary — The Albert Family, Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem.

\$100 In honour of my dear aunt Lore Wagon, Montevideo on the occasion of her 80th birthday — Ruth Foster, Netanya.

\$100 In memory of my dear sister Ruth L.B. Nahariya Mrs. T. Rosenberg, Netanya. In honour of Schwester Selma — Sara Greenblatt, Moshe Avnati, Anonymous, Kfar Gai.

With recent contributions of \$32,707.15, The "Forsake Me Not" total is \$1,648,577.28. Contributors include:

\$100 For my beautiful grandson, Tel Aviv.

\$12,750 In loving and cherished memory of Arnold Reinstein on the fourth anniversary of his death — His wife Eva, daughters Celia Tenby, Kay Weinberger and Helen Taylor and their families.

\$5,000 Anonymous, Jerusalem. Dr. Eva Danesh, Jerusalem. With grateful thanks to the Almighty for saving a family from a very bad car crash on Purim, 1977 — R. Ralberg, Jerusalem.

\$50 In memory of our sister Bessie — Mr. and Mrs. Morris Bebin, Brooklyn, N.Y.

\$100 Dr. Friedrich Borgers, Kew-Forest, Germany.

\$25 Miss B.J. Ellis, York, England.

\$25 In honour of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Fine, San Diego, Ca. — Arturo Weichsel, Mexico, Keren Ami Fund, Temple Beth Sinai Religious School, Dresher, Pa.

\$25 In memory of my beloved parents on their 40th anniversary — Gertrude Jaffe, Philadelphia, Pa.

\$20 In loving memory of our cousin Ada Weinstein of Jerusalem — Milton and Dorothy Davis, Toronto, Canada.

\$500 Rabinovitch Bridge School, via Mrs. B. Katz, Stuart Barsticker, Haverhill, Mass.

\$500 Reuben Albert, Tel Aviv. A Pensacola, Fla. — Lora and Felix Lapadula, Escondido, Anonymous, Tel Aviv, North of Barchana, Herfing Pitah.

\$100 In memory of my dear friend and mentor, Tel Aviv and Supra Levi, Kibbutz Arugot.

\$100 Anonymous, 19th birthday and our parents' 49th wedding anniversary — The Albert Family, Jewish Quarter, Jerusalem.

\$100 In honour of my dear aunt Lore Wagon, Montevideo on the occasion of her 80th birthday — Ruth Foster, Netanya.

\$100 In memory of my dear sister Ruth L.B. Nahariya Mrs. T. Rosenberg, Netanya. In honour of Schwester Selma — Sara Greenblatt, Moshe Avnati, Anonymous, Kfar Gai.

"FORSAKE ME NOT"

THERE ALWAYS seems to be something for us in the cards. The list of contributions to "Forsake Me Not" from bridge players keeps growing, and donations are gratefully frequent.

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Jailed for refusing Lebanon service

Jerusalem Post Staff

The IDF has recently sentenced three reserve soldiers to jail for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

The three are Private Eli Biton, of Tel Aviv, who got 14 days, Sgt. Yoel Greenberg, of Jerusalem, who got 28 days, and Private Yusef Kish, of Kibbutz Nahshon, who got 28 days.

According to the *Yesh Gvul* (There is a Limit) Movement, nine IDF soldiers are now serving jail terms for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

A *Yesh Gvul* spokesman said that Kish and Biton were not among the

1,700 signatories of the original *Yesh Gvul* petition protesting the war. This, he said, indicates the growing disaffection within the army with the occupation in Lebanon.

The IDF has recently intensified its penalties against those who refuse service in Lebanon, the spokesman said.

One IDF officer, who recently completed a 28-day jail term, has been given a second, 14-day, term for his continuing refusal to serve.

Other soldiers have been called up to serve in Lebanon for a second time after completing an initial stint in jail.

THE ELDERLY English-speaking salesman at a plant nursery in a town near Tel Aviv is from Gaza. So are the young boy who cleans the stairwells of the North Tel Aviv apartment building adjacent to where I live; one of the junior mechanics at the garage where I service my car; and the local grocery store's delivery boy.

The fast-food joints of Kikar Atarim, the Tel Aviv beachside commercial centre, are run by residents of the narrow, densely-populated strip which begins some 20 km. south of Ashkelon and ends at the Egyptian border, as are most Tel Aviv gas station attendants and approximately 70 per cent of the vendors at the Carmel Market. There is no hotel along Hayarkon St. which does not employ Gazans.

Once conscious of the invasion, one discovers Gazans not only in the Greater Tel Aviv area but all over the country's south and centre. Most can be distinguished from their Israeli Arab cousins by their heavily-accented, less than fluent Hebrew, their not quite Western dress; their lack of sophistication; and their willingness to do low-prestige jobs that require few skills.

IF IT IS HARD to imagine how central and southern Israel could survive without Gazan labourers, it is equally hard to imagine how the Gazans could survive without the Israeli job market. Thirty-four thousand Gazans — 43 per cent of the Strip's work force — are currently employed on this side of the Green Line, the 1967 borders.

It is a marriage of convenience, not love, first consummated 14 years ago for reasons of security, held together by necessity and pragmatism. And despite ideological objections on both sides of the border, neither partner would appear to be anxious for a divorce.

THE STORY begins with the War of Independence. Before that time, some 60,000 Moslems (and a handful of Christians and Jews) inhabited the 362 sq.km. of Southern Palestine that came to be known as "the Gaza Strip." Then 140,000 refugees arrived, most of them fleeing from the area which stretches east from Jaffa to Ramle and south from Lod to Beersheba. Crowded into towns and hastily-erected camps, they achieved one of the highest birthrates in the world. By the time Israel occupied the Strip in 1967, the population had reached 356,261 persons.

"From 1948 to 1951 there was almost total unemployment here," remembers journalist Mahmud al-Radwan. "In 1952 we sent 2,000 skilled workers and teachers to Saudi Arabia, pioneering what has become a common practice in the Arab world — exporting workers from overpopulated Arab countries like Egypt to underpopulated, underdeveloped Arab countries in the Gulf and North Africa."

The experiment was successful. With their sons sending home large sums of money every month, the refugees realized that education was the key to the future. Within 10 years, a whole cadre had finished high school and many, responding to the increasingly sophisticated demands of the Gulf, had graduated from Egyptian universities. Tens of thousands left for work in the Arab world. El-Radwan estimates the number of Gazans today living in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf and such North African countries as Libya and Algeria at 100,000.

Most of that job market dried up after the Six Day War. Publicly, the

The Gaza connection

About 34,000 Gazans are working in Israel today, only 12,000 of them legally. The Post's JOAN BORSTEN investigates the complex questions which have arisen from this situation, which she likens to a marriage of convenience.



Until May 1972 any Gazan who wanted to work in Israel had to obtain and present a police permit at the roadblocks leading into Israel. It was when this requirement was abolished that the flood of workers from Gaza began.

(Photo by Micha Baran)

Arab countries insisted they were not issuing visas as a matter of convenience — they could not permit the Gazans to abandon their homeland to the Zionists. In fact, most of them were worried about the effect the influx of so many Palestinian refugees, not only from Gaza but also from the West Bank and Lebanon, was having on their population registers and internal stability.

The Egyptians, of course, also ceased to be a source of jobs for Gazans. As administrators of the Strip, the Egyptians had established a public works programme which gave the refugees jobs building army camps, airports, roads and bridges in Sinai. If the wages paid by the Egyptians were low, so was the cost and standard of living in Gaza. TWO OTHER sources of income also disappeared when the Israelis occupied the Strip in 1967: One was terror; the PLO recruited thousands from the refugee camps. Another was smuggling.

Taking advantage of the fact that the Strip was never officially incorporated into Egypt and therefore not subject to Egyptian law, one Nasser banned all imports, Gaza became a Port Said of sorts. Egyptians wanting to buy foreign products simply crossed into the Strip and, with the help of lax border controls, exported their purchases. Gaza became Egypt's chief supplier of everything from hushish to Chevrolet limousines.

The military government, headed by future chief of staff Mordechai Gur, found Strip residents working for the UN (principally UNRWA — the United Nations Relief Works Agency) in agriculture (tilling someone else's or their own few dunams or employed in the citrus industry), commerce and the civil service.

"Even the latter was a problem," says Gur. "The Egyptians disguised the fact that there weren't enough jobs by employing many men to do one task. I remember that 80 men were doing the work of seven in the customs office."

Almost immediately the Gazans began asking for jobs. Realizing that it was to Israel's advantage that life in the Strip be normalized and that refugees with full stomachs think twice before engaging in terrorist

activities, the military government pondered the situation. "As I saw it," says Gur, "before we occupied the Strip there was no real unemployment. Some people even had two jobs. Their pay was embarrassingly low, but they were definitely people who worked, and we owed it to them to create or find employment."

By August 1967 the Labour Ministry had opened an office and created jobs for several thousands within the Strip, repairing roads and buildings, cleaning the towns, planting trees. Towards winter, it was decided to let some Gazans work in Israel.

"With so many reserve soldiers mobilized, various branches of the economy were short on manpower," Gur explains. "The first Gazans to work across the Green Line picked oranges. Each week, a committee made up of directors-general of the various ministries would meet to discuss needs, and then we would agree on how many more Gazans could work in Israel, or for Israel. There was a big building boom in Jerusalem, as well as roads to be constructed in Sinai and the IDF camps to be prepared."

THERE ARE many Israelis who insist that the borders were opened to Arabs from the administered territories not only because full employment would help squelch terrorism, but also because the national economy needed a large pool of unskilled labour. Perhaps. But as Gur makes clear, from the beginning the policy of Defence Minister Moshe Dayan was that workers from Judea, Samaria and Gaza who crossed the Green Line would be paid the same wages as an Israeli.

In accordance with Dayan's vision, it was decided that all collective wage agreements and cost-of-living increments would apply to workers from the administered areas working in Israel. Additionally, an Israeli employer was required to contribute to the fund which entitled a worker from the areas to severance pay; work accident insurance; annual holiday and sick leave; wife and child allowances; seniority increments; health services in Israel and, more recently,

health insurance in medical facilities in the administered areas. The Histadrut assumed responsibility for safeguarding these rights. The Labour Ministry set up a special branch to ensure that Israeli employers paid into the fund.

Nissim Ivri, who heads the Labour Ministry's Gaza office, says that the system worked well until 1972. The Gazans, tempted by the wages being paid in Israel (5-6 times more than in the Strip), regularly registered with one of the then eight, now 10 employment bureaus located from the Erez industrial zone south to El-Ahish. Local clerks took an applicant's personal details and work experience and then referred him to a job. (Any Israeli wishing to employ a Gazan had to file a request with the bureaus.) Upon receiving a job, the Gazan was issued a work permit, certifying that he had gone through legal channels.

"Before 1972," says Ivri, "Gazans needed an army permit or a work permit to leave the Strip. Then in May 1972 we opened the borders. Anyone who wanted to leave the Strip daily between 5 a.m. and 1 a.m. was free to do so — for any purpose. The army was no longer required to check for work permits. We could no longer enforce the law requiring anyone from Gaza and the West Bank wanting to work in Israel to do so through the Labour Ministry. The result was the beginning of the massive influx of illegal workers across the Green Line."

Of the 34,000 Gazans working in Israel today, only 12,000 are legally employed. Oddly enough, 14,000 of the 22,000 illegal workers are paid through the ministry's payments division. The remaining 8,000, who have no permits, take their wages home in cash, having neither paid income tax nor contributed to the social benefits fund.

AHMED, one of the Gazans working illegally in Or Yehuda, invites me home. It's a long drive from Tel Aviv to the Rafiah refugee camp, about two-and-a-half hours. Small wonder that the 25-year-old labourer, like approximately 10,000 other Gazans, sleeps most nights at his place of work.

Crossing from Israel into the Gaza Strip is still like making a journey into another world. One wonders if the workers who do it every day suffer from a kind of cultural schizophrenia. There are no bright neon lights here, no wide avenues lined with sidewalk cafes and crowded with shiny new BMWs and Mercedes sports cars. There are no shop-windows filled with enticing merchandise. There are no pretty girls clad in revealing mini-skirts, no fancy restaurants, bars or discotheques.

Fifteen years after the Six Day War, the colour of the Gaza Strip remains a dusty brown relieved by a few patches of orange from the citrus groves and occasional splashes of green from the cultivated fields. The side of the road looks like a garbage dump. Most of the non-commercial cars that cruise the tree-lined avenue are Tel Aviv's discarded Peugeot and Fiat. Rapid economic growth, an agricultural revolution and a dramatically improved standard of living notwithstanding, this is a pastoral scene dominated by cactus patches, donkey-drawn carts and women in black dresses.

The Strip's political leaders and intellectuals do not openly oppose Israel's policy of permitting Gazans to work across the Green Line. They can't, for they have no alternative employment to offer. But they are opposed ideologically to the fact that it is Gazans, most of them Palestinian refugees, who are building Greater Israel, as well as cleaning the Tel Aviv streets and doing all the other "black" jobs Israel despises. And they are concerned about the influence Israel's open, westernized society is having on the Strip's young people.

"The open borders have destroyed our moral standards," charges a politically moderate leader. "In 1967 this was one of the Arab world's most conservative centres. We were steeped in tradition. Women didn't work, except maybe as teachers in girls' schools. They didn't wear pants or high heels. Men respected them. But now? Just recently we witnessed an incident that 15 years ago no one could even have dreamed of: a married woman with three children having an affair with another Gazan. And the Gazan's friends photographing them in bed in order to blackmail her into sleeping with them too. It's been a while since I felt I could permit my daughter, wife and sister to go out alone in Gaza."

There has also been a breakdown in the family and social hierarchy: sons are no longer dependent on their fathers; the masses are no longer dependent on the rich elite. And today, since the breadwinners of the Strip are labourers, the respect once reserved only for academics is accorded to those who work with their hands.

BIR SALAM is as depressing a refugee camp as Tyre's Rashadye or Sidon's Maomina. Ahmed, his pregnant wife and three children live in two simple rooms. The salon is furnished with an old green refrigerator, a black-and-white television, a pile of colourful mattresses. A straw rug covers part of the cement floor. Across the narrow courtyard is a somewhat smaller room containing a clothes closet and double bed. There is also a shower, sink and Oriental-style toilet, as well as a small kitchen equipped with a four-ring gas burner and a few cooking utensils. Ahmed is proud of this house. He sees it as a step up. He and his wife used to share quarters not much

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

larger with his father, his father's two wives, and his 12 siblings.

But, confides Ahmed, who speaks fairly fluent Hebrew and dresses almost like an Israeli, he has even more ambitious dreams. He takes this reporter to Tel Sultan, a new neighbourhood not far from the barbed-wire fence that separates Israeli Rafiah from Egyptian Rafiah. The military government has divided the land into city blocks, and each block into identically-sized plots of land. Villas of various sizes and shapes, and in different stages of construction, line the already paved, lighted streets. Anyone who wants to get out of the refugee camp can have a 150 sq. m. plot here, says Ahmed. All you have to do is build. And he plans to do just that, some day soon. Where he will find the money, he doesn't know, for although anyone is eligible for a government grant, that grant is not enough. In recent years the cost of living in the Strip has shot up so high that it is difficult to save anything from his earnings. Unlike so many others, he has no relatives

working in the Gulf or sending home Jordanian dinars.

The large sewage pipes waiting to be buried under the streets excite him. ("When the Israelis build, they do things right.") So do the telephone lines, the modern school and his cousin Abed's semi-completed villa. We ring the doorbell and ask for a tour. Abed proudly serves us coffee in the salon before showing us the bedroom, bathroom, kitchen and courtyard. He has financed construction with earnings from his job as a house-painter.

"But it's a hard life," complains this son of refugees from Beer Ya'acov. He commutes daily to Tel Aviv, leaving the house at 3 a.m., returning as late as 9 or 10 p.m., depending on the availability of public transportation. He has to find his own jobs — the employment bureau doesn't deal with requests from private citizens who need someone for a few days to help renovate their homes. He worries about his future, as a free-lancer un-

THE GAZAN CONNECTION

able to take advantage of the Labour Ministry's guarantee of social benefits for workers from the administered areas. But he estimates that within the year he'll have put a second floor on his house.

DO THE two cousins object to working in Israel, building the Zionist state, doing low-level jobs? Do they hope that one day this new neighbourhood will be part of a Palestinian state?

They shrug, but not, it seems, because they are reluctant to make a political statement. Residents of what was once a hotbed of terrorism, Ahmed and Abed are now politically indifferent. What interests them, they say, is not national self-determination but economic security, which they didn't have under Egypt and do have under Israel. Who knows what a Jordanian or Palestinian regime might bring? they ask.

Like the refugees from Galilee now living in Southern Lebanon,

they explain that they are different from, and leery of, the West Bank population. Casting their own shadow on the conversation are the many Rafians who now belong to Egypt and regularly try to cross back into Israel.

Apparently the policy constructed by the late Moshe Dayan in 1967 was based on a clear understanding, at least short term, of the Gazan mentality. Israelis are still hated in the Strip. You see it in the eyes of the children as they artfully bump into the stranger wandering around the refugee camp. But the population wants access to material and physical comforts. To prepare themselves for jobs in Israel, the Gazans have taken advantage of the courses offered by the Labour Ministry's vocational centres. In order to protect themselves and their jobs, they have participated in classes that teach safety precautions and have successfully applied what they have learned. Once their daily existence was secure, the Gazans

stopped considering health insurance a luxury and allowed the military government to introduce a regional version of Kupat Holim.

"The Gazans are still oriented toward the present," said Yehoshua Zmira, the Labour Ministry's supervisor of an impressive range of existing and future projects in the Strip. "It's not hard to understand. These people still don't know what the future will bring. Until their perceptions change, we can't create the equivalent of National Insurance, or unemployment schemes, because this type of social security means paying now for what you will only need tomorrow. But we expect the mentality to change."

It apparently is changing already, and will eventually be counted as one of the positive effects the open border policy has had on Gaza's new generation.

"I want a nice home, not in a refugee camp. I want a nice car. And I want National Insurance," said Ahmed. "I want to be just like an Israeli Arab."

(This article is extracted from a series.)

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Bar-On: 'What will happen if there are no protests?'



Vilan: 'We are not like the peace movement in the U.S.'



Aviad: 'Five million shekels, mostly in small contributions.'



Reshef: 'Middle-of-the-road, despite opponents' claims.'



Adi Levy: 'My last public position was in the sixth grade.'

Peace Now—then and now

Launched as a one-time operation in 1978, Peace Now has surprised its founders by surviving for five years. For a full-blown protest movement it has very little formal organization — no official membership, for one thing. The Post's DANIEL GAVRON reports.

IN THE FIVE years since it was formed, Peace Now has not changed its principles. The movement's basic premise, that it is better to have peace than the entire land of Israel, seems to its supporters more relevant than ever. What is extraordinary is that the movement's structure and character have also remained the same. An organization of thousands of activists in dozens of branches all over the country, which can get 100,000 demonstrators onto the streets, still functions without a central office or a single paid official.

The movement, which was started by a group of reserve soldiers in their mid-twenties, has attracted both older and younger generations to its leadership; but the hard core remains that same group, whose members first tasted battle in the Yom Kippur War.

"I had just returned from a trip abroad," recalls Avshalom (Abu) Vilan of Kibbutz Negba, one of Peace Now's kibbutz activists. "Two days after my return, I found myself in the hell of the northern Suez front." He lost his best friend in the war and he determined never again to take part in a war that he felt could be prevented.

Vilan concedes that Peace Now was not able to prevent the Lebanon war; but at least it had made its voice heard. An alternative way for Israel was being put across.

"We are not like the U.S. peace movement," he stresses. "We oppose the government; but when the call comes we go and fight." Like most of his fellow activists, Vilan serves in an elite unit of the IDF.

PEACE NOW was started in the heady days after the visit of President Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977, because of a feeling that the government's settlement policy was jeopardizing the peace process. On March 8, 1978, 350 reserve officers and soldiers from the IDF's combat units wrote a letter to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, saying, *inter alia*:

"A government that prefers the establishment of settlements across the Green Line (the 1967 borders)

to the ending of the historic conflict... will raise questions about the justice of our cause. A government policy that will lead to the continued rule over one million Arabs is liable to change the Jewish democratic nature of the state..."

It was intended as a one-time effort, an attempt to show the prime minister that large numbers of Israelis did not support the settlement policies of Gush Emunim and the Land of Israel Movement. But the response was so overwhelming that Peace Now swiftly burgeoned into a full-scale protest movement, the largest, longest-lived and most successful that Israel has ever seen.

Undoubtedly its major achievement to date has been the huge demonstration in Tel Aviv last September, which demanded (and got) an official inquiry into the massacres of Sabra and Shatila. True, the demonstration was organized in conjunction with the Alignment, Shinui and other groups; but according to a Labour MK, "it would have only been a little smaller if Peace Now had organized it alone."

THE MOVEMENT operates with an amazing lack of structure; there are only three official office-holders. Lawyer Tzvi Reshef has served as Peace Now's spokesman since its inception, except for a two-year break while he was studying and working in the U.S. Prof. Golan of the Hebrew University is in charge of foreign contacts and sociologist Janet Aviad is treasurer.

Aviad, who notes that activists are not reimbursed even for their telephone and travel expenses, disbursed of some IS\$ million in the past year, which was a very active one. Demonstrations cost money; but most of the money goes on newspaper advertising.

ALMOST ALL the contributions come from Israel, she says, mostly in sums of between IS\$0 and IS\$1,000. (MK Ronnie Milo has never actually withdrawn his charge that Peace Now is financed by the CIA; but he has not repeated it recently.)

"We were not in favour of the war — not even 40 kilometres," observes spokesman Tzvi Reshef, "but we always consider how to carry the maximum public opinion with us." The idea of refusing to serve in Lebanon had never even come up in forums, he noted. "We are very

Peace Now's highest body is the *forum-al*, the central forum, which meets every two weeks at the Tel Aviv apartment of community worker Tumi Tsarfati. It consists of 12 to 15 members from the three large centres (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa) and the outlying branches. In between meetings, matters of major policy are decided by phone consultations between the members, although in times of crisis, as during the first weeks of the recent war, the central forum met twice a week.

Each of the main centres has its own forum, which meets every two weeks, with as many as 80 people present. A secretariat of about a dozen, made up of the heads of the special committees, meets weekly. The special committees deal with such matters as finance, demonstrations, liaison, youth groups, lobbying and the media.

IN ALL ITS forums, Peace Now operates by consensus, which means that any sizeable minority has a built-in veto. It is this *modus operandi*, according to its leaders, which has prevented take-overs or the adoption of extremist policies. A determined radical group cannot mobilize its members to out-vote the moderates, because there simply are no votes.

During the first week of the Lebanon war, there was a lot of pressure to speak out, recalls a Jerusalem activist, Jonathan Frankel, professor of Russian Studies at the Hebrew University, but members who were mobilized sent back the message that early opposition would be misconstrued by the public at large. The consensus system kept Peace Now silent until the first ceasefire.

"We were not in favour of the war — not even 40 kilometres," observes spokesman Tzvi Reshef, "but we always consider how to carry the maximum public opinion with us." The idea of refusing to serve in Lebanon had never even come up in forums, he noted. "We are very

middle-of-the-road, whatever our opponents might tell you."

MOST OF the kibbutzim have branches of Peace Now and they often provide transport and materials for demonstrations. "I must however make one thing clear," insists Abu Vilan. "It is a complete misconception to say that the kibbutzim 'bus-in the masses' to the demonstrations. For one thing, the adult population of the kibbutzim is less than 70,000 people. Secondly, kibbutzniks will only come to a protest if they are convinced, just like anyone else. Remember too that it often involves a long journey from Galilee or the Negev."

Vilan, who is at present studying economics at the Hebrew University, concedes that Peace Now has not made much headway in the development towns or among the deprived communities in the cities. Its main contact in these sectors has been with some activist neighbourhood leaders in Jerusalem, and it has been on a basis of absolute equality, he stresses. He speaks angrily of MK Geula Cohen's remark that Peace Now supporters "talk to the neighbourhoods in beautiful Hebrew."

"Is their Hebrew different from mine?" he demands. "They are equal to me in every way. We don't 'bring them' to demonstrations; they come."

MORDECHAI BAR-ON, former IDF chief education officer, is one of the older generation which has lent its support to Peace Now. In addition to Professors Golan and Frankel it includes economists professor Yoram Ben-Porat, and authors Avshalom Oz and Adi Levy.

He sees nothing strange in a former career officer supporting a peace movement. "Remember it all started with a soldiers' letter," he points out. Up to 1967, defence was Israel's top priority. Since then, he maintains, there has been a change. (Continued on next page)

THE WRONG END OF A GRENADE

THE GRENADE that killed Emil Grunzweig on February 10 also wounded nine others. Two of them, Yehoshua Shkedi and Adi Levy, are still in Jerusalem's Shaare Zedek Hospital with shrapnel wounds in their arms and legs.

Adi Levy, 31, is lean, bearded, soft-spoken. The scars are still visible on both hands, and his legs are bandaged. When the grenade went off, he was confused and thought he had somehow received an electric shock. "I have thrown enough grenades," he smiles, "but being on the receiving end is different."

A third generation Jerusalemite — his grandparents came here from Yemen in the ally of 1882 — Levy serves in the Armoured Corps. He fought in the Yom Kippur War and it was that experience which started the process that turned him into a peace activist. After the Lebanon war, he became active in *Yesh Gvul*, ("There's a limit"), some of whose members refuse to serve in Lebanon; but he is not sure whether he would actually refuse to go there if ordered.

While it is true that Peace Now emerged from the ranks of combat soldiers, Levy believes that the general tendency in Israel has been to glorify war. It was the older soldiers who joined Peace Now, he says, the younger ones were thirsty for battle.

He speaks of fellow tank corps soldiers from the *Hesder* yeshivot, who tasted the horrors of war for the first time in Lebanon and were now beginning to realize that war is not glory. "Do we all have to go through hell to see that war is a bad thing?" he asks.

He was disgusted with the Labour Party's behaviour in the Lebanon war. At first they were against military action, but "they showed Peres and Rabin some maps with arrows and they lined up behind the government!"

He is new to political activism. "My last public position was as class treasurer in the sixth grade," he says, noting that his parents are not too happy about his current activities.

He had attended his first demonstration in Tel Aviv. "It warmed the heart," and had no doubts about joining in the Jerusalem demonstration at which he was wounded. He complains bitterly that not a single official representative has come to visit him or his companion Yehoshua Shkedi in hospital.

CONTROVERSY

Yasser Arafat's 'moderation' mask

By MOSHE SHARON

AMONG the many terms of Western origin used in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflict a very significant one is "moderates." The use of this term to describe PLO terrorist leaders, notably Yasser Arafat, is not only wrong but morally unjustifiable and politically dangerous, since in many ways it legitimizes terrorism.

In the last two weeks the term has been used in connection with Arafat and his group in the PLO so frequently, and by such a large chorus in the printed and electronic media, that by now there is hardly a person in the West who is not under the impression that Arafat has undergone a great metamorphosis. Moreover, since politicians, including some in Israel, are developing plans for settling the Middle East conflict based on the "moderation" of Arafat and *Al-Fatah*, one can hardly help feeling that the use of words has a momentum of its own which has very little to do with reality.

Arafat and his supporters in *Al-Fatah* gained the reputation of "moderates" some time ago.

No matter what the *Fatah* murderers were doing in Israel, in Lebanon or elsewhere, no matter how much innocent blood they were spilling, Arafat was regarded as moderate, sober and wise.

Moreover, his moderation was contrasted with the "intransigent fanaticism" of the Israeli leaders. It is amazing, but without spending much money, and without abandoning one of its objectives in regard to Israel or the Jewish national movement, the PLO's image was transformed from that of a terrorist organization sworn to destroy Israel to a group of reasonable politicians discussing the relative values of various peace plans.

WHEN ONE reads the reports of the last Palestine National Council congress in Algiers, what emerges is this: Facing the screaming opposition of extremists (most of them Marxists), valiant Yasser was interested only in examining whether or not to accept the Reagan plan, the Fahd plan or the Fez plan. He chose the last.

Arafat's decision, however, was disappointing for most of those who created his moderate image and expected him to behave accordingly.

At this point the true nature of the *Fatah* and the PLO in general was exposed once more. The Fez plan is a recipe for the destruction of Israel in a way that is palatable for the Europeans. The Americans have not fallen for it. It contains two major points. First, it speaks about the establishment of a Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital, prior to any alliance with Jordan. Secondly, it does not recognize Israel, does not even mention the Jewish state, let alone give it any legitimacy. On the contrary, the Fez decisions are nothing but the usual repetition of the almost two-generation-old Arab programme for ridding the "Arab homeland" of the "Zionist aggressor." Only this time, the Fez sages catered to their willing Western "exegeses" and interpreters. Seizing on such expressions as "all countries in the region"

these interpreters — journalists and politicians alike — hailed the Fez decisions as recognizing Israel "by implication."

THERE is hardly any need to repeat the very well-known fact that in the Arab political dictionary, Israel is neither a state nor a country, Palestinian political thinking was very carefully summarized in the so-called Palestinian National Charter (or Covenant) back in 1964 and has never been changed or renounced since. In its first two clauses the territory which the Palestinians see as their future state is extremely well defined. First, Palestine is an "indivisible" part of the Arab world, which means that it can never be a non-Arab state, which is precisely what Israel is. Secondly, "Palestine, with the borders it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit." This means that neither Israel nor Jordan is safe, because the British Mandate over Palestine included the territory on both sides of the River Jordan.

YASSER ARAFAT understands the power of words, and the wide possibilities embodied in ambiguity. The Arabs have always been masters of the word, in literature as well as in everyday life. Language acrobatics is a very well-known characteristic of Arab culture, whether institutionalized or popular.

PLO leaders and spokesmen have been exercising their talents in this art ever since Westerners gave them the title of moderates. Thus, on an ABC programme some six months ago, Bassam Abu Sharif said that the establishment of a Palestinian state in any part of Palestine would be "satisfactory." "This is the PLO programme," he declared.

The interviewer did not ask the spokesman which programme he was referring to but those who could see through the smiles and the "moderation" understood that he meant the 10-point programme adopted by the PLO in 1974 as an immediate plan of action. Clauses 4 and 5 of the programme showed that there was a clear decision that any "liberated" part of Palestine would be used as a base for the destruction of Israel and the overthrow of the Jordanian regime.

Neither Yasser Arafat nor any other official spokesman of his organization has ever renounced any of these virtually sacred PLO programmes. The "liberation" of Palestine has only one meaning, whichever way one looks at it: the elimination of Israel.

There is an almost complete Arab consensus on this subject. There are, however, differences of opinion with regard to tactics. Arafat has been trying to convince his colleagues that the weapon of words has been too long neglected, and that it should be used instead of the gun and the bomb but alongside them.

This is the true message of Algiers, and this is the exact meaning of Arafat's "moderation."

Moshe Sharon is chairman of the Hebrew University's department of history of Islamic countries.

'The only solution'

DR. YA'ACOV ARNON, member of the three-man delegation from the Council for Israel-Palestine Peace which met in January with PLO chief Yasser Arafat, in Tunis, he says, never concerned himself with politics during his long years in government service.

His field was economics, and he rose to be director-general of the Finance Ministry, a post he held for 14 years.

His loyalty in those days was to Muppi. He had joined Poalei-Zion in 1934, when a young man in his native Holland. What made him leave Labour? The break occurred in 1971, when Sadat made an offer to Golda Meir — the same offer that the Egyptian President made to Prime Minister Begin in 1977. Golda of Labour rejected what Begin of Meretz was later to accept.

That was too much for Arnon; he realized that on the most crucial issue Labour was not championing the policies he believed in. He resigned shortly after, and in due course became one of the founders of the Council for Israel-Palestine Peace and later, the left-wing Sheli party.

What he could not stomach was Labour's indifference (as he sees it) to the challenge of peace-making. "If Israel is to survive as an independent state, we have to settle our dispute with the Palestinians. I say 'Palestinians' deliberately. They are part of the Arab-Israeli problem, but a separate part. We must come to terms with them first. Our relations with Arab governments will fall into place later."

"There is only one feasible solution: divide the country between a state for the Jews and a state for the Palestinian Arabs." At this juncture, the interview with Arnon began to take the shape of an interrogation.

Question: "You advocate a return to the pre-1967 borders, right?" Answer: "Yes."

Including a division of Jerusalem between the Jewish and Arab states?"

After a moment's hesitation: "I regret to say, yes. We could perhaps retain the Jewish part of the Old City." More briskly: "If that is the last matter to be settled in our peace negotiations with the Arabs, I'm sure we can work out a satisfactory compromise."

DR. ARNON evidently does not embrace the fervent vision of Jerusalem as the Holy City of the Jewish people. He admits as much: "In my student days I was a

The Post's David Krivine talks to Ya'acov Arnon, one of a delegation which met recently with PLO chief Arafat.

socialist. I adopted Zionism later because it offered the only solution I could see to the Jewish problem. "I never was a mystical Zionist," he concludes; and then proceeds to counter-attack: "Where are 100,000 Arabs in East Jerusalem, do you want them as citizens of our country?"

"You don't approve of living with Arabs?" "I think we have enough Arabs inside Israel already. I welcome their presence, don't misunderstand me. What I say is, if we want a Jewish state, the Arabs have to be a minority."

"But would a mini-state on the West Bank and in Gaza be able to support itself?"

"A delegation of American officials toured the Middle East at the beginning of the 1950s. Their conclusion about the Jewish state was condensed in two words: 'Israel non-viable.' You are now saying the same thing about the West Bank. You are as wrong as they were."

"Isn't the narrow pre-1967 border dangerous for Israel's security?"

"It prevailed before 1967." "It, but the other side didn't have huge armies in those days, equipped with the most sophisticated weapons."

(Exasperated): "The Palestinians have huge armies?"



Ya'acov Arnon

Arnon believes that the dispute is between Israelis and Palestinians. If a peace treaty can be drawn up between these two groups there would be nothing for Arab enmity to feed on. A last flare-up in the interrogation:

"When you say negotiate with the Palestinians, you mean the PLO?"

"Of course. They speak for the local Arab population and have its allegiance, the whole world sees that. More governments recognize the PLO as the legitimate represen-

tative of the Palestinian people than recognize Israel.

THE MEETING with Arafat lasted four hours. On the Israeli side were Uri Avnery, Matti Peled and Dr. Arnon. On the PLO side Arafat was accompanied by Dr. Issam Sartawi and two others.

It was not the first time that the terrorist leader had talked to Israelis. What impression did he make? Arnon spoke cautiously: "Our feelings towards him were ambivalent, he belonged after all to the camp of Israel's opponents. We were conscious of the bad things his organization had done in our country."

"He had the same ambivalent feelings about us. We, too, had done bad things to his people. The talk was businesslike. We wanted to find out whether a compromise formula could be devised which provided what we wanted for the Israelis and what Arafat wanted for the Arabs."

"Not the other way round — not what we wanted for the Palestinians or what they wanted for us."

Was such a compromise found? He looked thoughtful. "Arafat doesn't make any declarations. But I think the 1967 borders would satisfy him."

"He wouldn't see that as a first step in the destruction of Israel?"

"I think not." He repeated: "I think not," and went on: "Look, different people have different ideas. Some say the border should not be the 1967 line. All right, but let them talk about it. Let them negotiate."

The Labour Alignment is prepared to negotiate with Jordan. Arnon is not talking about that, what he prescribes is negotiations with the Palestinians, that is, the PLO.

He smiles ruefully. "There is, of course, no chance of its happening right now. Neither the government nor the official opposition is prepared to discuss Arab statehood with the Palestinians, or to talk with the PLO at all."

He goes on: "We urged Arafat to recognize Israel. We didn't make it a demand, we merely suggested that it might be in his interest to do so. We pointed out that the impact of such an initiative on public opinion in this country could be greater than he gives credit for."

Arnon hopes that the dispute inside the PLO with Sartawi finds a solution because Sartawi is a moderate, and it would be deplorable if the extremists won the day.

Peace Now—then and now

(Continued from preceding page)

of peace. "Anyone concerned with Israel's security should know that peace is the best possible security."

Bar-On, who teaches at the Hebrew University, has just completed a book on modern Zionism, and is writing his doctoral thesis on the period of the Sinai Campaign. A member of the Labour Party, he has never considered going into politics, but he intends to go on supporting Peace Now.

"I know people ask if demonstrations do any good," he confesses. "But what we have to ask ourselves is: what will happen if there are no protests?"

NONE OF THOSE I talked to believe that Peace Now should turn

itself into a political party and run for the Knesset. They know the movement has support in a number of parties, including the Alignment, Shinui, Citizens' Rights and Shas, possibly also in the National Religious Party, Tami and the Likud Liberals. The movement's strength, believes Reshef, is that it provides a channel for those who otherwise would not have one.

Peace Now's latest literature calls for a freeze on West Bank settlements, removal of restrictions on the Arab inhabitants of the territories, rechanneling money spent on the West Bank to social projects within the Green Line, and a positive response to the Reagan plan.

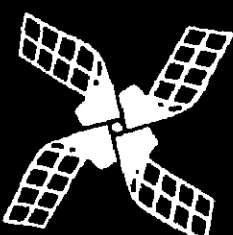
ON THE ONE hand there is a feel-

ing that Peace Now is stronger than it has ever been. The Beirut massacres and the murder of demonstrator Emil Grunzweig have led to an upsurge in volunteering. People have shown a desire to be more active.

On the other hand, one senses an acute awareness that Peace Now still represents a minority in Israel, an awareness, too, that the movement has hardly made a dent in the neighbourhoods and development towns. Settlement in the West Bank continues with at least the passive acquiescence of the majority. Likewise, most Israelis supported the Lebanon war.

There are no illusions: Peace Now knows that it faces a long, uphill struggle.

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By HELGA DUDMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter



Walter Frankl (right) explains how to care for lawns.

IT WAS EARLY in the morning and the small boy, groggy with sleep and still in his pyjamas, was up to greet his parents, just back from a trip to Europe. The parents are Haim Haviv, manager of the Gali Kinneret in Tiberias, and his wife Esti, the hotel's social director. The first words they heard from their youngest and charmingly hotel-oriented child were, "Daddy, the hotel is full!"

Because he is only five (and a half), Haim Haviv doesn't follow the news and thus doesn't know about tourism statistics, cancellations, the state of the world economy, and the impact of the Lebanese war on hotel occupancy. He did know, though, that the Gali Kinneret was full up because of the three day gardening event, led by Jerusalem Post gardening correspondent Walter Frankl and organized in cooperation with the newspaper.

Haim even knew that two weeks earlier the hotel had also been filled by the similarly organized Scrabble competition - two of them, in fact, one in the middle of the week and one at the weekend. This attracted over 80 devoted addicts, about a third of them "repeaters" from last summer's Scrabble contest.

IN SPITE OF the drop in tourism, both of Tiberias' five-star hotels - the Plaza and the Gali Kinneret - have little trouble filling all their rooms at weekends, largely, but not entirely, with Israelis.

When I had dinner on a recent Friday evening at the Plaza, I was positively stunned (perhaps because I make the mistake of occasionally believing the media) to see hundreds of guests milling around. They included a group of 100 Israeli mayors, and six foreign groups, one of Japanese and one of Christian pilgrims from America. To my delight, our party of four had to wait well over an hour before the dining room could take us, and my three well-travelled Israeli companions were impressed by the quality of the food produced under such pressure.

"Unfortunately, there are usually only four, and at the most five weekends in any month," an executive of the Tiberias Plaza told me. His hotel easily fills the place to the rafters with groups of bridge players, but this happens only three times a year, under special package deals with the National Bridge Federation.

WHERE IT in New York, Rehov Ezer Yisrael would be a row of fabulously expensive town houses; were it in San Francisco, it would be a chic shopping centre. In Tel Aviv, the pedestrian passageway with its little 19th-century houses would be an "artists' quarter," complete with hand-painted signs and shops for tourists.

But since it is in Jerusalem, Rehov Ezer Yisrael, the short street off Jaffa Road, near its intersection with King George, is still inhabited by poor people, with a few modest shops here and there. The only indication that someone has noticed its potential is the existence of Rosemary, a vegetarian restaurant, with a very rustic, artsy decor.

Not that we could take advantage of all the charm when we visited it one night recently. Even without the heavy sheet, we certainly were not about to sit at one of the little out-door tables. Instead, we found a warm corner indoors, and admired the beautiful patchwork clothing, hung for display on the walls.

Over at the Gali Kinneret, Haim Haviv has a remarkable talent for dreaming up unusually interesting ideas for bringing in guests during the off-periods and having them sign out enchanted. Scrabble and gardening are two examples, and there are more in the offing.

Providing well-organized central projects for a few days' stay at a pleasant hotel - it might be called Occupational Tourism - is a boost not only for occupancy figures, but also for the satisfaction of the guests. What happens is that participants find themselves enveloped in an agreeable atmosphere and surrounded by congenial people; new friendships are formed on the basis of common interests, and old ones are often rediscovered. At the gardening event, such is the power of plants that at least two women met again who hadn't seen each other for 40 years.

ENTHUSIASTIC overall reactions to both events went far beyond the usual evaluation of the unstructured hotel stay.

The gardeners, who ranged from three-geranium novices to experienced veterans, also want more, praising both the unusual at-

mosphere and the smooth organization (always a pleasurable surprise to Israelis). Walter Frankl, who in his seventies has more energy and good humour than most people half his age, kept up a tremendous pace, with a wide range of lectures and demonstrations in full bloom from 9 a.m. till after 10 p.m. Even so, some of his charges dashed off during the afternoon rest hour for a mineral bath at the Hot Springs, and nobody even thought of being late for a session. Hydroponics, soil additives, bonzai techniques, container lore, lawn management (with Yehuda, the hotel's veteran gardener), flower arrangements, and mole control were accepted conversation-openers in the dining room.

As the guests were checking out after the last question about the last aphid, smiling and thanking the staff and hoping to meet again soon, some place and same atmosphere, a woman from Beersheba approached Haim Haviv with a new suggestion for a similar event in a very different but just as popular field.

At this stage, I wouldn't dream of divulging it - or any of the other ideas for Occupational Tourism in his notebook.

The people who push the Big Mac hamburgers are about to start selling Israel to the American public, according to Zvi Rimón, media adviser to the minister of tourism.

The new firm, which is to handle the Israel Government Tourist Office account in the U.S., is N.H. and S. Images and Images, which is also the advertising firm for McDonald's, the giant American hamburger chain.

Tourist officials have high hopes that the firm can help pull Israel's tourist industry out of its slump and make the country's hotels as crowded as the McDonald's stands around the U.S.

The new publicity campaign, which is to begin in May, will feature the slogan, "Come to Israel. Come stay with friends." It will include television advertising in the eastern U.S. and advertising in "family" magazines throughout the rest of the country.

Rimón said that about a dozen large advertising firms took part in the tender to replace the company which projected Israel's tourist image for the last 15 years. A total of \$2m. has been budgeted for this fiscal year and it can be increased if necessary, Rimón said. The present contract is for three years.

Pilgrims' fair

The Tourism Ministry is to hold a Pilgrim's Fair for Christian clergy and journalists this spring in Jerusalem, the ministry has announced.

The decision to hold the fair came after a similar meeting for general tourist agents was held in Eilat last week. Agents were brought in by plane and given a rental car and tickets to the various attractions in town. The various tourist enterprises also maintained booths where the agents could discuss prices and sign agreements.

For the spring event, which will be held in May or June, the ministry intends to bring hundreds of clergy from North America, Western Europe and even a group from South Korea. After a festive opening in Jerusalem and visits to the holy places in the capital, the guests will be invited to tour the Christian sites elsewhere in the country.

stoneware bowl, the quiche consisted of a very crisp crust, evidently made with whole wheat flour, a thick layer of onion and egg, and a cheese sauce topping.

My companion tried the eggplant *parmigiano*, a layered affair of sliced eggplant, tomato and cheese, which was quite satisfactory.

As so often happens in vegetarian restaurants, we were quite satiated and hardly felt like having a dessert. But rather than leave my readers in the lurch, I ordered a piece of apple cake with whipped cream. The cake - I would have called it pie - was a thick, generous wedge with chopped nuts and raisins in addition to the apples and cinnamon.

My companion tried something called a *swet pie*, a deep-dish affair with cooked fruit and again, whipped cream on top. This, I felt, was less successful than the cake. The only fruit I could discern was banana.

The Turkish coffee, served in large glasses, was passable. The bill, including two lins of apple juice, came to \$16.35.



French Jews outside a synagogue in Bordeaux.

The third biggest community

By MARK SEGAL/Post Political Correspondent

FOLLOWING the death last October of Baron Alain de Rothschild, head of the *Conseil Représentatif des Juifs de France* (CRIF), French Jewry finds itself in the post-Rothschild era. The departure of members of that legendary family from France and their intermarriage with Catholic princesses and countesses, means that the Rothschilds have ceased being virtually the hereditary spokesmen of the French Jewish community. The influx of North African Jews has transformed the community, and they now account for 400,000 of its 700,000 members. The feeling that CRIF was no longer a truly representative body has galvanized efforts to revitalize it and expand its scope so that the third largest Diaspora community will have as coherent and vital an organization as British Jewry has in its Board of Deputies.

A prominent figure in that drive is the chairman of the Jewish National Fund in France, Edouard Knoll, who was here on a visit recently. The 49-year-old Paris lawyer is confident that should the interim president of CRIF, Jean-Paul Elkann, consent to take the post permanently, he would be capable of providing the leadership French Jewry requires. A prominent industrialist, Elkann, 62, is a Harvard graduate with excellent connections throughout the French establishment.

According to Knoll, the phrase coined during the Revolution by the Comte de Clermont-Tonnerre regarding the position of Jews in France is as valid today as it was nearly two centuries ago: "Everything for Jews as individuals, nothing for them as a nation."

But the influx of North African Jews has wrought a significant change he says. Jews now publicly take pride in their identity, whereas they used to do their utmost to hide it. He cited as an example a prominent Paris judge who, in middle age, has rediscovered his Jewish roots and during recesses in court can be found studying Hebrew books. This resurgence sense of Jewish pride has even included young intellectuals such as philosopher Alain Finkielkraut.

Admittedly there have been anti-Semitic incidents, with wide publicity given to recent attacks on Jewish targets, says Knoll, but it would be quite untrue to claim that France is an anti-Semitic country or that French Jews are living in terror. As in other European countries, the ultra-left and the radical right have found common ground in anti-Jewish and anti-Israel activities. He believes that the French authorities are doing their utmost to protect the Jewish community from terror attacks.

He even referred to a greater official understanding than hitherto, which he put down to socialist sensitivity to Jewish concerns, and above all to the sensibility revealed in such matters by President Mitterrand.

He thinks the situation of France is better in many respects than elsewhere, noting golf clubs do not bar Jews, as do some in the United States and Britain. The sparsity of Jews in politics is due to the lack of a tradition of political involvement, although, he pointed out, there is a relatively high ratio of Jews active in the ruling Socialist Party.

DURING THE WAR in Lebanon the media reporting had been very anti-Israel, said Knoll, and the only voice defending Israel was that of Ambassador Meir Rosenne, with whom he himself had studied at the *Institute d'Etudes Politiques* in the early 1950s. He praised Rosenne for his courageous performance in such difficult circumstances.

Here he returned to the theme of rejuvenating CRIF. "If we had been properly organized and had another voice speaking out clearly on Israel, French Jews would not have felt so isolated in the face of the concerted campaign, containing so much disinformation."

Generally speaking, work for Israel had replaced religion as the force binding French Jewry. There was a lack of Jewish education, and no Zionist organization as such.

"The official Zionist movement can be compared to a house with a roof but no walls. There are many office-holders without followers, purporting to represent the various Zionist factions. But they have no real influence on the average Jewish household."

Communal work and fund-raising are difficult within the Jewish community, said Knoll, because of the tradition in French society generally against joining organizations and giving money to worthy causes. This stemmed from Napoleon's declaration: "I don't want anything between the state and the people."

A Frenchman considered a donation of 50 francs to his parish church a sizeable gift, and the really wealthy French Jews were notorious for contributing little, if anything, to the Jewish funds and the JNF. It was the middle classes and the poorer Jews who had to be relied on to fill the blue box.

Knoll regards the JNF as "Israel's best shop-window."

In 1982, he said, French JNF took the initiative in making a documentary about Israel concentrating on the classical Zionist message of reclaiming the wilderness, the ingathering of the exiles, and so forth. "At a time when French audiences were being told of Israeli 'fascists' in Beirut, we felt we should counter with pictures of Israel at work, and of how Zionism was interested in the environment long before ecology became fashionable."

The documentary - which cost \$500,000 to produce - was screened on French Television's religious programme, reaching one million viewers.

"It was a marked success. I got a letter from a woman in Lyons, who enclosed a donation of 100 francs. She wrote 'I'm not Jewish but I feel after seeing the programme that I must give something.' There was also the priest who sent a small donation, plus a letter expressing his wish to send a group of schoolchildren to visit the Holy Land to witness for themselves what is being done there. One outcome of the film and other JNF work is the recent visit to Israel of a group of 50 prominent citizens of Strasbourg, led by an eminent professor of philosophy."

Knoll was born in Lorraine, his pharmacist wife in Paris.

His family managed to survive World War II in the Pyrenees village of Pau, where the local people concealed them. While conceding that many Jews were saved by kind-hearted Frenchmen, he complained that there were still too many around who had enthusiastically collaborated with the Germans in handing over Jews for deportation to death camps.

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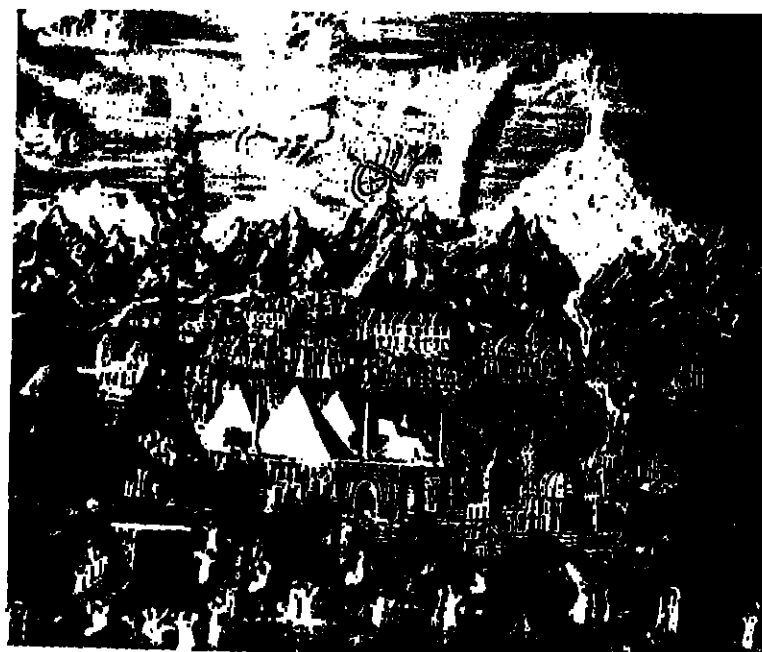
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Vision of a naive rebel

By Meir Ronnen

GABRIEL COHEN, Israel's foremost living naive painter, has taken his newest paintings to a new gallery — the Alon in Jerusalem. On show are a group of his larger oils on canvas, devoted to more of his strange visions of a Jerusalem reunited with Judaea, or of Islam reunited with Judaism. The snow-capped mountains of his youth (he was hidden from the Nazis on French farms) overlook his most recurrent image, that of the breast of the Dome of the Rock.

In one of Cohen's more bizarre images, a number of rival soccer teams play out their game on the Temple Mount with the Dome of the Rock as a grandstand, the melee refereed by the artist himself. In another, the Dome is surrounded by a shield of David, signifying its — voluntary — return to Judaism. Moses also makes several appearances, in one case towering over the flooding of Pharaoh's forces (a reminder of the miracle that was not worked in our time,



Gabriel Cohen: "On at the Gates of Paradise," oils, 1982, a vision which unites images of Moses, Elijah, Jerusalem, Paris, Cairo and the placing of an oil drum on the Black Stone (Ka'aba) of Mecca.

though who can say if peace with Egypt was not a miracle too?).

The artist is ever present. One feels, looking out over a broad landscape of French hamlets, that one is seeing the scene through his eyes. He makes a real appearance in a work of rebellion, uprooting the Tree of Art (its branches are filled

with a myriad tiny artists working at their canvases).

Cohen's work is less rigid, but also less exacting than hitherto. It has lost something of the passion for rigid detail that is part of the naive charm. But the detail is still there, all summoned up out of this extraordinary artist's fertile mind.

New breathing space

By Abraham Rabinovich

A PLACE where Jerusalemites can stretch their minds, bodies and lunch hours is beginning to take shape around the transformed landmark that used to be known as Beit Ha'am.

That auditorium, which began its theatrical career in the early 1960s with the grim, real-life trial of Adolf Eichmann has taken on a new name — the Gerard Behar Centre — and an upgraded cultural identity.

Looking out through its new glass-enclosed foyer, visitors can see a plaza being completed on the neighbouring plot where the Menora Club once stood. The exclusive province of British and Israeli officers for close to half a century, the club was demolished by the municipality to make way for the one-dunam plaza which will provide benches, open space and even a small stage for entertainment or speech-making. "Usually, when a city demolishes a small building in the centre of town it builds a big one in its place," says David Reznik, who designed the plaza. "This is an ideal open public space."

The plaza and renovated Beit Ha'am are part of a large complex planned for the area. It includes a new central municipal library, three times the size of the present one housed in the southern wing of the former Beit Ha'am. When the new facility is built, the present library space will be used for adult education courses offered by the municipality's *Universita Ammit* (people's university). Planned alongside the new library is a community centre which will include a gymnasium, swimming pool, pocket theatre and activity rooms.

The open-air municipal parking lot south of Beit Ha'am will disappear beneath the new buildings and be replaced by a 350-space underground garage. Bank Discount is paying for 70 of the parking spaces, in lieu of building an equivalent number beneath its new office tower, to be built on King George Street just south of Jaffa Road. This underground shift aids further traffic input on King George and also provides most of the funds for the first stage of 100 spaces in the Beit Ha'am garage.

The new foyer of the Behar Centre adds a depth of only three and a half metres to the building, but its modernistic lines reflect the new image the municipality is seeking for the auditorium. Beit Ha'am used to be the venue for 80 per cent of stage performances in Jerusalem. With the construction of the Jerusalem Theatre, the older hall became a place for popular entertainment.

"It was a place you could hire by telephone," says Yossi Navot, of the Municipal Cultural Department, "and it didn't matter who in its place," says David Reznik, who designed the plaza. "This is an ideal open public space."

A number of seats have been removed from the theatre in order to expand the stage but the seats that remain are new and so is the carpeting. A major element in the new foyer, besides a welcome coffee shop, are large ventilation ducts painted a bright yellow and left exposed for all to see instead of tucked out of sight, as is usual. This bare-guts architecture reminds visitors of Paris's Pompidou Centre, and calls forth associations of the cultural vibrancy attached to that institution. The Pompidou parallel was not intentional, says Colin Frank, an architect in Reznik's staff, but the vibrant image was. "We wanted to change the image from Beit Eichmann to that of an important theatre."

IPO leaves for Japan

By Marsha Pomerantz



Zubin Mehta

The Israel Philharmonic Orchestra left last week for its first concert tour in Japan in 23 years.

Zubin Mehta, the orchestra's musical director who will conduct the nine concerts during the three-week tour, told a press conference in Tel Aviv that he thought the tour was both "politically and musically important."

"There's not much cultural exchange with Japan," he said, although Israeli soloists do go on tour there, and are well received. "When the whole orchestra goes, it's symbolically important."

Invitations came from three private impresarios in Japan. The repertoire will include Mozart, Stravinsky, Mahler and Brahms. Mehta said, One Israeli work by Paul Ben-Haim will be included. Mehta described Japanese audiences as serious and disinterested with the music, and said many people come to concerts with musical scores in hand.

"They're very enthusiastic, but they only applaud at the end of the whole concert," he said. "So at intermission you think they don't like you. Then at the end, the roof comes down."

Text in context

THEATRE/Zvi Jagendorf

THE PEOPLE of the Talmud live a strange and intense life in our imagination. Although the laconic, fragmented and associative talmudic text rarely describes a character in any detail, never giving us a formal portrait in words, its pages are full of incidents, dialogues, encounters, tragic and comic, trivial and fateful, which leave a strong impression of the personality of the participants. Men of learning argue and needle each other on the roads around Lod and Tiberias; they participate in the dramas of revolution, haggle in the market, tread the thin ice of debate with tough Romans and face the hangman and their wives with equal bravery.

This combination of incidents (no long stories, no elaborate plots) and personalities (opinionated, witty, sharp-tongued) is a challenge to the reader. The gaps in the stories invite us to fill them with our own fantasies; the lack of detail calls on us to create it in our heads.

This is perhaps what yeshiva students did over the centuries when they relaxed between bouts of mental gymnastics. They recreated Akiva and Tarfon, Meir and Gamliel as characters in exciting dramas in a land of sunshine and palms. For them that land was a country of the mind; for us it is where we are, and that is one reason why the play *Bruria*, which can be seen now in Jerusalem and elsewhere, is no fantasy nor an exercise of the merely historical imagination.

Acted with almost religious commitment and great skill by Gabriella Lev and Ruth Wieder, it is a successful attempt to cast into dramatic relief the passionate and tragic aspects of a text which tells of pain, shame and martyrdom in almost as cool a way as it speaks of law.

THE PLAY is based on a collage of stories about Rabbi Meir, his forceful and learned wife Bruria, and the suffering of their family in the Roman persecutions. The play makes no attempt to weave its separate stories into a plot, nor does its method allow for the creation of

characters in any traditional way. The two actresses narrate in Hebrew and Aramaic, chant, speak dialogue and comment on the events they are acting out. They are at once modern witnesses to scenes of dilemma and suffering preserved in an ancient puzzling text and the people in those scenes, making the decisions and taking the consequences.

Unlike last year's Khan production, *The Wars of the Jews*, in which a clear political interpretation forced the story, the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, to bear a modern significance, *Bruria* avoids obvious interpretations. There is no hindsight here, no modish moralizing. But there is interesting and thought-provoking contradiction. Bruria surrenders to God's will when her two sons die, and teaches her husband the lesson of acceptance. But the same woman surrenders to the sexual pestering of Meir's student, spurred on by his master in order to prove a misogynist's view of woman's fickleness.

Joyce Miller's clear and intellectually honest production never lets off the hook by giving us answers. We have to make the connections. We have to ask "Why?" — of Bruria, of Meir, and of God.

The play is so moving and suggestive because it puts before us a set of passionate actions which bring into relief a historical moment and some of the people unlucky enough to be born to taste its bitterness. It has no theory about history, nor does it judge the people. It simply uncovers moments, incidents and encounters as they are set down in the terse, beautiful language of the Mishnah, (the text was put together by Alisa Eliot Israeli), and, making no compromises, lets us see them on the stage.

Bruria, which won second prize at the last Acre Festival, is proof that the sharpness and beauty of old texts need not be vulgarized by a modern stage treatment. I think Bruria might have liked the show — if Meir had let her go. Go.

Sobel play to open Edinburgh Festival

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Haifa Theatre has been invited to open this year's Edinburgh Festival with the play *Nefesh Yehudi* (A Jewish Soul), which was condemned as "blasphemous and offensive" by religious leaders in Israel. This is the first time an Israeli artistic group has received such an invitation, a theatre spokesman said.

The play, by Yehoshua Sobel, includes three erotic scenes, and was passed by the Film and Theatre Censorship Board only after its members had seen a full dress rehearsal. It depicts the last hours of Otto Weininger, a Jewish anti-Semite who committed suicide in Austria in 1903, at the age of 23.

A Haifa Theatre spokesman said the invitation was made by festival manager John Drummond, who is visiting Israel.

The play is to be performed on the opening night of the festival (August 22) in Hebrew. The



Yehoshua Sobel

audience will hear a simultaneous English translation.

The Edinburgh Festival is recognized as one of the world's top artistic events.

THE DROUGHT-RIDDEN southwestern U.S. of my childhood was the happy hunting ground of the Rainmakers. In their brightly-painted wagons, filled with bits and pieces of impressive-looking laboratory equipment and an ample supply of phosphorescent rockets to provide astounding fireworks displays, these men (and occasionally women) roamed the arid states. They promised the drought-stricken farmers in Texas, Kansas and Oklahoma that they could bring rain to their parched fields... for a price.

The Rainmakers were cunning enough to operate only when there were clouds in the sky. If, after their incantations and applications, there was rain, the farmer felt himself amply rewarded. If there was only a little rain, he was told that without the Rainmaker, even that bit would not have fallen. In the many cases when there was no rain at all, the Rainmaker would promise a special, renewed effort the next day without charge. He usually dumped that night, taking the money he had collected with him.

Jews, on the other hand, have always prayed for rain when their parched fields cried out for moisture, for, after all, that was one of the basic promises of the Almighty: "I will send you the rains in their seasons..."

And the first *Rishon Lesion* — Sephardi chief rabbi — the late Rabbi Abraham Gagin of Jerusalem, certainly knew all the traditional prayers for rain.

One wonders just what the first *Rishon Lesion* would think about his grandson and namesake, Prof. Avraham Gagin of the Hebrew University's Department of Meteorology. For Gagin is today not only Israel's number one rainmaker, but also the man responsible for the fact that this country is considered the most successful in the world in increasing its annual level of precipitation.

Together with Yehuda Neumann and Reuven Gavriel, who is now at the University of Rochester in the U.S., Gagin has succeeded in producing an annual rainfall increase of approximately 15 per cent over target areas. This figure, carefully checked by meteorologists and statisticians around the world, has been maintained since 1961.

Why has Israel succeeded when so many other countries, some with vastly greater budgetary resources, have failed? Gagin says that it's a matter of knowing just which clouds to seed. "We don't make rain," he says, "we simply encourage the rain-producing cloud to let down more precipitation than it ordinarily would have."

Gagin explains that when a person looks at the sky and sees dark clouds, he knows that there will probably be rain; when the clouds are white, he knows there won't. "But of course," he remarks, "all clouds are white; it's a matter of density. When the clouds are thin, then the sun shines through them and they look white. When they are dense, they appear dark, a silhouette against the light sky."

Israeli meteorologists, financed by Mekorot, the national water authority, have learned that the lightest clouds are the best to seed with silver iodide into a cloud, works best when the cloud is dense, with a temperature of -5 to -15° Centigrade, at the top of the cloud. At these temperatures a crystal of ice forms around each particle of silver iodide; and each ice crystal is an embryonic raindrop. At

Rainmaker



The Post's D'VORA BEN SHAUL meets Avraham Gagin, the man responsible for Israel's international success in inducing precipitation.

temperatures of 5 to 7° Centigrade these drops fall as rain, at colder temperatures, as sleet or snow.

Using this technique they have been able to turn clouds that were potentially low rain producers into high precipitators, and have managed to get rain out of clouds that otherwise would have probably produced nothing at all.

CLOUD SEEDING is carried out by two basic methods in Israel, Gagin explains.

The first is the system of silver iodide generators, located all over Israel. The generators, called *tanourim*, or stoves, look something like a smoke-stack or cannon attached to a large pressure cooker. Filled with silver iodide and acetone, they are ignited internally and throw a mist of silver iodide particles into the sky. Many a radio listener has been mystified to hear a news broadcast end with instructions to "light the stoves... or turn them off."

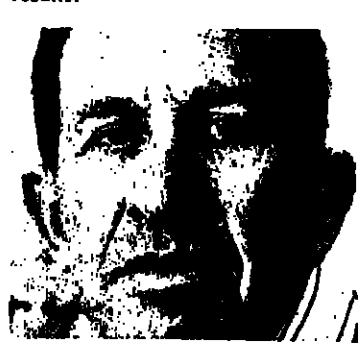
The second system involves seeding clouds from light aircraft which carry generators under their wings. These planes, Gagin says, fly back and forth along a predetermined line when the cloud formations are auspicious and continuously spray a fine mist of silver iodide particles into the clouds.

According to Gagin, one of the reasons why Israel has succeeded, while the U.S. has not, is that Israel depends on a system of stored water and the irrigation of fields during the dry season. In the U.S., agriculture anticipates year-round rainfall, and consequently attempts to combat drought by seeding summer clouds are singularly unsuccessful. American agriculture is simply not geared to the wide-scale irrigation of fields and crops.

During the first Israeli experiments, from 1961 to 1967, the activities of the rainmakers were virtually unrecorded. No one knew how the neighbouring Kibbutz states would react to attempts to jumper with the natural course of things. In fact, no one could even say for sure whether more rain in Israel would mean less in Jordan, Syria and Lebanon.

Once the statistics from these

Middle Eastern states had been analysed by the University of Colorado, it became clear that seeded clouds which managed to drift across the political boundaries had resulted in an average increase of rainfall of some 20 per cent in regions downwind from Israel's seeding areas. Although it was hardly possible to send a rain cloud labelled "courtesy of the government of Israel," the neighbouring states were not displeased with the results.



Professor Gagin

In 1969, once most of the catchment area of the Kinneret was in Israeli-held territory, the entire operation was moved inland in order to increase rainfall over the catchment area itself. Results were the same as in the first experiment. From 1969 to 1975, precipitation increased 13 per cent over the entire target area and 18 per cent over the catchment area. This confirmed the earlier experiments to the satisfaction of scientists around the world. Every scientific experiment must, in the end, be evaluated by this jury of peers.

BUT IF the rainmakers and the government are pleased with the results, the average citizen, struggling with leaking roofs, cars that won't start, laundry that hasn't dried in a week and all the other inconveniences that accompany prolonged rainfall, is often tempted to wonder if "enough is enough."

Perhaps this would be the case were it not for the fact that Israel's water reserves are not only low at the moment, but have reached what could be termed crisis levels. Israel depends on two sources for

most of its water supply: the Kinneret and the underground water that is pumped up from below the surface through artesian wells. Both of these resources are in a state of severe depletion; even after the unusually heavy rains that have fallen this year, the Kinneret is still at its lowest level in 20 years. The underground reserves are not faring any better. In some areas of the Negev and the Arava, acacia trees have died because the water table has fallen to a level where their deep roots no longer can find the necessary moisture.

Nor is it at all certain that this winter's rains, which certainly have not run off into the lake, have managed to fill up the underground reserves. The aquifers, those delicate underground channels and caverns where water accumulates, are not like a kitchen pot that can be emptied and refilled at will. Every emptying of these aquifers causes them to dry out, and as a result their fragile walls can crumble. This, in turn, leads to blockage of the smooth underground flow of water and to limited storage capacity. It can also cause certain channels to the entry of fresh water, making the water that does collect there become salty, turning a once productive well into one whose water is unusable.

Given this situation, it is obvious that there can be no such thing as too much rainfall. Even when one considers the costs of flood damage, fewer tourists, disrupted electricity and telephone services and lost work days, the fact remains that all these factors are transient — but water, or the lack of it, is a permanent concern.

Another line of argument is that increased rainfall means tampering with natural forces, and that one should leave nature alone. There is certainly a lot to be said for this point of view, and it would undoubtedly be valid if we did indeed live in a natural environment.

BUT IN ORDER to get back to a situation where everything is the way nature intended it, one would have to go back many thousands of years. There are a large number of man-made factors already at work which ultimately influence the amount of rainfall in a given area.

One of the most important of these, Gagin mentions, is deforestation and desertification. This phenomenon has been going on almost as long as human civilization, due to overgrazing on the one hand and the deforestation of land, in order to prepare fields for cultivation, on the other.

The meteorologist says that it is not enough to assume that a tropical region exists, with its vast areas of vegetation, just because there's so much rain. As it happens, there's also a lot of rain because of the existing vegetation. The large amounts of carbon dioxide emitted by the vegetation increase the amount of solar rays absorbed and result in the increased ability of water to reach the layers where clouds are formed. Denuded areas have little impetus to offer and not enough carbon dioxide to enhance the process. Satellite photographs show that overgrazed and denuded areas have a totally different reflectivity from areas where any dense foliage abounds.

Another factor in the efficiency of cities and industrial complexes. Here's the classic example of "both good news and bad news." The good news, says Gagin, is that cities act very much like mountains. They generate heat, the clouds coming over them are lifted and then drop-

ped, and the increased buoyancy results in greater precipitation. This is expressed well in the Laporte anomaly. Laporte, Illinois, near Chicago, has an increased rainfall due to its steel industry.

The bad news is the effect of pollution on rain clouds. Clouds that form over a relatively clean sea, such as those that form in the South Pacific and reach Hawaii, have as few as 50 particles of solid matter per square inch. These particles form nuclei for large raindrops. Since they are few, a great deal of water attaches to each embryonic raindrop.

Clouds that form over land masses where there is a large amount of dust, however, may have as many as 1,000 particles per square inch. This is the case with clouds in the Mediterranean region. These particles are so numerous that the amount of water attaching to them is limited, and they therefore often fail to let down their load — it just isn't heavy enough. Pollution, especially when clouds pass over industrial complexes, adds further quantities of particulate and gaseous matter to the atmosphere, and further increases the number of particles around which water can collect. In this case, many clouds have so many particles that they never get heavy enough to let down precipitation unless they are assisted by the rainmakers.

IT ISN'T ONLY Israel that may benefit from the studies conducted by Gagin, his co-workers, and Mekorot. Recently, a delegation of leading meteorologists and water conservationists from South Africa came to Jerusalem for the express purpose of learning from the experts here.

The South Africans knew exactly why they were here. There's a desert in Africa that is on the march. It is growing eastwards at a rate of some 75 to 100 kilometres a year, and it is getting wider, in some areas, at an annual rate of 50 kilometres or more. This has been happening, without let-up, for some 12 years already, although the factors that triggered it off started as many as 20 years ago.

In addition to this, the rains in the southern part of the African continent have always been cyclic, and drought, real drought, is no stranger to the veld. This fact, as a new and predictable drought period approaches, coupled with the expanding desert to the north of the Republic of South Africa, is ample cause for worry. The experts were here to look for ways of increasing rainfall throughout the area.

Another project which Israel has been asked to aid is the Agrivdev development area in Peru. Some 60,000 square kilometres of land, at a high altitude, is dependent on water from the Andes mountains for irrigation. The Israeli company, Agrivdev, which is developing the area, plans to bring some 500 Peruvian settlers there this year. The area is, at the moment, undergoing a severe drought, and Gagin says that Israeli meteorologists have been asked to come at once to see what can be done to increase rainfall.

Basic research done here on clouds in the Mediterranean can also serve as guidelines for all the studies in the Mediterranean basin, if they develop the technology to implement the knowledge.

Whether or not one feels good about wet feet and drippy awnings, one thing is sure: in Israel, everyone may still be talking about the weather, but there's also someone who is doing something about it.

MEDICAL services — world-wide — are in a jam. This has resulted from the technological revolution of our times, a revolution which has brought untold benefits to the human species, and to hospitals. But in the hospitals, it has also created a particularly intractable kind of problem.

Technology has transformed every home into a kind of electronic factory. Machines wash dishes, launder clothing, do sums, beam entertainment. The health services are overrun by new medical machinery in the same way, and this has increased the number of patients they can treat.

Once, persons having diseased kidneys would eventually perish. Now they are kept alive with the aid of dialysis. But dialysis costs a lot of money.

Well, so does a colour TV or a micro-wave oven. Here, however, is the difference: Society is not obliged to supply these goodies to each and every household. If you can afford to buy one, you buy one; if you can't, you do without. Not so with dialysis.

Modern democratic societies require that basic needs be met for the whole population. A stereo-set is a luxury, a vacuum-cleaner is a luxury — but the right to survive represents a basic need. People think it unjust that a rich man assailed by renal failure should live because he can afford dialysis, and a poor man with the same complaint should be left to die.

Besides, dialysis is more expensive than a cur. Prof. Baruch Modan, director-general of the Health Ministry, has worked it out. The cost of dialysis is \$100 per treatment. A kidney patient needs two-and-a-half treatments a week, which means an outlay of \$13,000 per annum. How many people can afford so much?

It seems logical for the state to take over, and that has happened in Israel. Nobody is turned away, which is gratifying — except that there is a nation-wide bill to pay. Some 900 dialysis patients in Israel at this moment should be costing the country \$11m. to \$12m. a year.

This would be tolerable if there were only dialysis. But in every field of medicine, new diagnostic and curative devices are emerging, opening new prospects for the sick — and new budgetary problems for the authorities. Once upon a time, doctors used a stethoscope, then an X-ray. That is being gradually replaced by the electronic tomograph which, by feeding a multiplicity of pictures into a computer, creates a three-dimensional image.

The CAT (computerized axial tomography) scanner costs \$1m. Not every hospital can afford that just yet. Tel Hashomer has one and Assaf Harofe doesn't so far, but has access to the Tel Hashomer installation. Ambulatory cases get themselves hospitalized at Assaf Harofe (with all the costs that involves) so as to acquire an earlier slot on the hospital's quota at Tel Hashomer.

Meanwhile, Time magazine reveals to the ordinary reader that the tomograph itself is now being superseded by something more modern still, called the NMR (nuclear magnetic resonance) scanner. This reveals even more than the tomograph about the body's inner mysteries — and is more expensive yet, especially as it has to be housed in a huge metal-free area sealed from outside electromagnetic influences.

As I write these lines my notice is drawn to a report that the

What price medical care?

Medical services in Israel are at crisis point. Technology promises a longer, healthier life for all — but the cost is often astronomical, even prohibitive. Who decides the medical priorities? Economic Correspondent David Krivine discusses the subject with Prof. Baruch Modan, director-general of the Health Ministry, and others involved in the field.

Elscint company in Haifa, which manufactures the tomograph, has opened a plant in Herzliya for the development and production of the NMR scanner.)

The problem facing medical administrators like Modan is baffling. A hospital cannot plead budgetary stringency for failing to acquire a facility that saves human lives, yet, how to find the money?

"An operation was done to replace a joint. There were complications, anti-bleeding treatment became necessary, utilizing a rare drug. The total cost was \$600,000," says Modan.

"Tomorrow another patient comes requiring the same surgery and encounters the same complications: What to do? For the cost of that operation we would buy a CAT scanner for an entire hospital."

New drugs and remedies pop up every day. "Look at interferon, a still-experimental compound that, it is hoped, can be used against cancer. The cost of this treatment will be \$50,000 to \$100,000 per patient. If we adopt it just for a quarter of our cancer cases, we should need to up our medical budget by 10 to 15 per cent."

"Maybe in the course of time the cost of producing interferon will drop. Meanwhile, there are other things. We decided this year that heart operations should be available to all. There will be 1,500-2,000 operations per annum, and each operation costs \$3,000 to \$5,000. Work the budget out for yourself."

Each new technological breakthrough creates a problem: "Test-tube babies are today a possibility. We authorized two hospitals to handle it. At first critics complained about the waste of money, but then a barren woman conceived and bore a child. Now there is a year's waiting-list — and we haven't

got the means to treat them all. "Recently I was in Geneva discussing this with the chief obstetrician of a big Swiss hospital. He said he wouldn't introduce test-tube babies in his department because he had no desire to aggravate the world's over-population problem."

"But we in Israel need more population and are spending a fortune of money on bringing newcomers in through the Jewish Agency and the Immigrant Absorption Ministry. Let me tell you, it's cheaper to allow infertile women to create more subrubs."

This observation is patently the bid of a desperate man to lay his medical hands on some of the Agency's ample capital; but it won't work. At the moment, the success rate of test-tube babies is only 5 to 10 per cent, making the cost high relative to the benefit secured, which leads him to ask: How far does one go in expanding social medicine?

The writing of this article was prompted by a letter to the editor recently published in *The Jerusalem Post*. Signed jointly by Prof. A.I. Eidelman, who heads the department of neonatology at Shaare Zedek, and Prof. S. Godfrey, head of the pediatrics department at Hadassah, the letter refers to the plight of premature babies: "No payment for days of treatment is provided to the hospitals for the astronomical costs entailed in caring for these desperately ill infants."

What do the "astronomical costs" amount to? For a premature baby weighing less than one kilogram at birth, \$17,000 on the average. National Insurance provides a mere \$400, say the two professors, which is grossly inadequate.

Why the disparity? Dr. Shmuel Penchas, head of Hadassah, explains that the government's budgetary

system is based on "a grand national average. They take all hospital expenses in Israel and divide them by the number of hospital beds, thus arriving at an average cost per bed."

"This would be OK if all hospitals gave primary care and nothing else. But there is a difference between the great teaching hospitals with their elaborate equipment, and the more rudimentary provincial institutions. When you give the same finance to all, the provincial hospital earns a profit, and a place like Hadassah carries a loss."

"Intensive care for premature babies costs \$500 a day. What parent can afford that? A 90-day spell would come to \$45,000 (though not all babies stay that long)," says Penchas.

"We have eight cots in Hadassah for 'premies' and are increasing the number to 12. Each one carries a deficit of \$100,000 a year. A hospital without this facility is not burdened with the outlay."

I had a brief talk on the phone with an official of the Treasury's Budget Division who deals with the Health Ministry's finances. Her reasoning was uncomplicated: "We in the Treasury are not concerned with the high cost of this treatment or that. It's the hospital's business. We allocate a budget for health services, it is divided between the various institutions, and they have to manage with the funds provided."

"Very well," says Penchas, "but at least let the division of funds be more rational. An equal allocation per hospital bed is absurd, because the case-mix is different in each place. A scale should be introduced according to DRGs (diagnosis-related groups), so that hospitals handling the more complex cases get a larger share of the cake."

Modan explains what happens with the premature babies. Child-birth costs are covered by the National Insurance Institute (NII) which provides a fixed grant per birth. This implies that the mother and her child are one unit — she arrives at the hospital with the baby (in her tummy) and leaves it with the baby (in her arms).

But things do not always happen that way. Premature babies have to be given care separately from the mother, and must stay longer than the mother.

"We asked the NII to finance the mother and child separately. A committee sat. They unfortunately recommended a continuance of the old system, but did raise the per-birth allocation by 32 per cent."

It is the same "grand national average" system all over again. The hospitals are supposed to average out their childbirth costs. On a normal birth, they have a profit, and this is supposed to compensate for the loss on abnormal births.

The trouble is that not all hospitals have intensive-care facilities, which means that the proportion of abnormal births is less than average in some hospitals and above average in others.

This is an example of the financial problems that arise in social medicine with the introduction of more advanced, more expensive methods.

"How far do you go in extending the boundaries of medicine?" Modan keeps asking. "It is possible to keep still smaller 'premies' alive at a still greater cost. Where do you draw the line?"

Hadassah has had a hand in pioneering new technologies — e.g. bone-marrow implants. Says Penchas: "In aplastic anemia cases, the introduction of new bone-marrow saves lives."

"It is also a cure for leukemia. The patient's existing bone-marrow must be destroyed, and another lot introduced in its place. Each such operation involves us in a loss of \$3,000."

But the complex operations are done, the technological novelties are adopted, the high-cost treatments are given, "at the expense of areas in social medicine that do not hit the eye," according to Modan, "at the expense of psychiatric care and geriatric care, at the expense of the care of babies."

"All right," he admits, "we are among the 10 countries in the world with the lowest death-rate for babies under one year of age. But there is still a loss of 12 per thousand."

"That's a statistic," he points out. "A person needing dialysis is not a statistic, he presents a vivid picture. The papers take it up, the public gets indignant." But the babies — who die because they don't get sufficient daily care in the home of proper nutrition — are a vague subject which escapes general notice.

"A study we made recently showed that the death-rate for babies in Or-Yehuda, an area of low living-standards, was two to three times as great as in Kiryat Ono, an area of high living standards." Does that not need attention?

The medical services have developed an almost unlimited capacity for replacing damaged organs and prolonging life. The only limit is the availability of financial resources and trained personnel.

This is becoming an insuperable bottleneck. Not everybody can be saved — there has to be selection. But that has never been done before. Is it possible to set priorities when human lives are at stake?

(This is the first of two articles.)

RELIGION

Return of an archbishop

THE RT. REV. George Appleton, who was Anglican archbishop in Jerusalem from 1969 to 1974, has returned as a resident scholar at Jerusalem's Ecumenical Institute at Tantur. Now aged 80, he is regarded by many as one of the leading churchmen of our time.

In some ways, Appleton never really left Jerusalem. He has visited here every six months for the last three years — "Jerusalem is always in my heart" he says.

"I listen eagerly to the news every day and I read the weekly edition of *The Jerusalem Post*. I have a very dear Arab journalist friend who writes and keeps me in touch with the hopes and fears of the people in the West Bank, and I have Israeli, British and American friends who also keep in close touch."

Looking back on his five years as Anglican archbishop he produces many vivid memories. Before Appleton left London to assume his duties here, a well-known Jewish journalist urged him to be "like a bee" — bringing news of the good things in Israel to the Arab countries, and bearing good tidings of the positive things in Arab countries to Israel.

"That is what I tried to do in my small way when I went on tours to visit my Anglican people in the other 20 countries in the Middle East."

A more vivid memory is of the Sunday evening after the El Akra fire in August 1969, following a week of great tension and apprehension. As part of the Jerusalem Festival, Pablo Casals' *Bethlehem Cantata* was performed, with Casals himself conducting the last act.

"In response to the tremendous applause, Casals held out his arms to the huge audience and said, 'I love you, I love you all, and I'm so glad to be in the land of my Jesus.' We felt that what Casals said was the most healing thing that could have happened after that week of tension and fear."

THE SPIRIT of mutual compassion and helpfulness finds unusual expression in the Middle East, Appleton found. Following the

CHRISTIAN COMMENT

Olkoumenikos



hostilities in Amman between King Hussein and the PLO in 1970, the city was left without water, light, heat, sufficient food or stocks of medicines. The first relief lorries to arrive in the Jordanian capital were sent by the government of Israel.

Soon after, there was an opportunity to reciprocate this gesture of charity.

"Just before one of my visits to Amman, somebody called to ask if I could bring back some cholera vaccine, to help in the cholera scare at that time. The headmaster of Bishop's School in Amman told me I couldn't buy the vaccine anywhere, because it was controlled by a Jordanian government department. But a friend of his was the head of the factory where it was produced and he arranged for me to get 100,000 doses."

"When I got to the Allenby bridge, crossing point back to Israel, the officer in charge was suspicious of the vaccine, suggesting it might have been tampered with, and adding, 'It may have lost its value by being brought in your car on this hot morning.'"

"The boxes were as cold as when I set out, but the officer couldn't let the vaccine through. So I wandered around nearby Jericho to find refrigerators to keep it in until it could be properly examined. A few

days later I got a message from the Ministry of Health saying that the vaccine was quite clean and hadn't deteriorated, and that I could have as much of it as I wanted for my friends."

The sequel to this story was that some time later, the Jordanian who had supplied the vaccine was afflicted with a brain tumour. He was allowed to come to Jerusalem and in Hadassah Hospital he received what Appleton described as "the finest medical care that could be found in the Middle East."

TODAY, Appleton is far more optimistic about the Middle East than many people who ask him about it. "I hope that Israel, with the withdrawal of the PLO and Syria from Beirut, will be feeling more secure and ready to be a little more adventurous in trying to find the right solution for the good and patient people of the West Bank, who in the 15 years since '67 have come to know the people of Israel."

"I won't say they have a love for Israel, but they respect them. I think they can help the other Arab nations understand the psychological and political climate in Israel and at the same time help people in Israel to understand the feelings of the Arab nations."

"Also, in the last two years I have learned a good deal about the wonderful research going on in the Negev about living under desert conditions. For example, there are new strains of salt-resistant fruit and vegetables. All this research can be of the greatest benefit to the nations of the Middle East, fulfilling 4,000 years later the word that Abraham heard from God, that through his family there would come a blessing to all nations."

But the former archbishop also has regrets about Israel, particularly that it has become involved in the sale of arms.

"The amount spent on armaments by the whole world in a fortnight — £8 million — would be enough for a year's war on world poverty and disease, to provide clean water, education and decent homes for everyone. The world cannot afford both warfare and welfare. We've got to choose."



Part of the crowd in Jerusalem's Rehov Ben-Yehuda pedestrian mall last Monday for the carnival-like celebrations of Purim, which mark the deliverance of the Jews of the ancient Persian empire from the wicked Haman.

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Industrial assets here up 16% despite world recession

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Despite the worldwide recession, industrial growth here continued in 1982, Avraham Friedman, board chairman of the Industrial Development Bank, said last week in disclosing the bank's financial statements.

"Compared to 1981, there was a 16 per cent growth in fixed industrial assets — buildings, machinery and equipment, in 1982," he said. (In 1981, compared to the previous year, the growth in fixed assets was only 2.6 per cent.) Friedman noted, however, that in 1982 there was a five per cent drop in construction of new industrial buildings. On the other hand, the investment in machinery and equipment grew by 20 per cent last year. (In 1981, there was a 17.5 per cent drop in the construction of new buildings, while there was only a 7.3 per cent increase in the investment in machinery and equipment.) As for the Industrial Development Bank itself, the amount of loans approved grew by 21 per cent in real terms, to stand at \$56,922.8 million. Loans actually granted in 1982 grew by 28 per cent in real terms, to stand at \$54,483.4m.

Yehuda Gil, director-general of the bank, pointed out that "linking the loans, either to the dollar or to the index, or linking part of each loan to the dollar and the rest to the

index, did not have any detrimental effect on the number of applications and the approval of loans."

"As a matter of fact," he said, "no project was cancelled after linkage was introduced in 1981. The percentage of funds granted in loans for new projects constituted 62 per cent of all loans, compared to only 41 per cent in 1981."

Friedman said that there had been a steady stream of foreign capital into Israel last year (he did not mention the sum), especially for science-based industries.

One factor contributing to this foreign interest in Israel, he said, was that investors saw that Israel could compete favourably with European countries. The "fear of inflation in Israel" gave way to the realization that inflation in Israel did not have the same meaning it had in other countries, "since everything here is linked."

Although the foreign currency income from industrial exports fell by 3.8 per cent in 1982, the actual quantity of goods exported rose by 2.5 per cent.

The bank's balance sheet grew by 134 per cent (not deflated), to stand at \$525,231 million at the end of 1982. Net after-tax profits were \$590,000, an increase (not deflated) of 265 per cent. This was despite a \$533m loss on loans which were not repaid and would probably not be repaid (one company alone defaulted on \$525m).

Most retain faith in shares

By MARK SEGAL
Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — One in four Israelis plays the stock market and most investors intend to continue in the game, notwithstanding the recent tremors. Opinion is sharply divided, however, on the question of imposing a capital gains tax, with 39 per cent for and 30.6 against. The others did not have a definite view.

The above are some of the findings of a poll conducted for *The Jerusalem Post* by the Modi'in Research Institute among a representative sample of 1,168 adults in the first part of February. The survey was held at a time when the stock exchange nosedive was still fresh in the public mind.

When asked "Have you invested in the stock exchange in the past

three months?" the response was "Yes" — 25.3 per cent, "No" — 73.9 per cent and "undecided" — 0.82 per cent.

Investors were then asked whether they intended continuing to do so. Nearly 83 per cent said they would with 42.8 per cent answering "definitely," 40.1 per cent saying they "think so," 15.0 per cent saying they "think not," and 1.1 per cent saying "definitely not." Another 1.0 per cent was undecided.

Institute director Dr. Sara Shemer concluded that, since one quarter of the public invests in the stock market and 83 per cent would continue to do so, the steep fluctuations in the market have not undermined investors' confidence in the market's workings.



The 404R robot (at left), developed by MTC Industries of Carmiel, can do spotwelding and paint spraying in addition to handling materials. The Sharnoa company's GII/I robot (right) has its capabilities explained by a representative of the producers. (Israel Sun)

Israel shows its industrial robots

HAIFA. — A multi-purpose industrial robot, designed and built by MTC Industries and Research Company in Carmiel, was unveiled at its factory last week.

The MTC 404R robot, which took less than 12 months to develop, can be used for plasma coating metals, arc and spotwelding, material handling, paint spraying, or machine tool loading and unloading.

Apart from its versatility, the manufacturers claim the machine can easily be integrated with other robots in highly complex computerized manufacturing processes. It is also easy to programme and has an extensive self-diagnosis system and error display. Rigorous tests have proved it to be durable, providing long periods of maintenance-free operation.

The machine, which will sell for about \$80,000, is already attracting world-wide interest. Work on smaller models, selling for about \$50,000, is already under way.

The firm, which started out five years ago, has a marketing division in the U.S. and plans to set up a

sales branch in England or Italy. It currently employs 40 people, almost half of them engineers, technicians and researchers, and sees its future in high-technology. It has established a robotics division at the factory.

The company has two other divisions at its factory: for the development and production of gyroscopes for military and civil purposes, and the manufacture of plasma coated aircraft engine components. It also produces a computerized high-speed box loader.

Scientific manager Dr. Victor Shribman said the company started off being involved solely with plasma coating — a means of improving the surface of metals and their resistance to corrosion, heat and wear-and-tear. "We then wanted some automated equipment for the plasma coating process, but there wasn't anything on the market, so we built our own." From there the firm moved into robotics.

Shribman said the firm planned to expand both its premises and its workforce in line with increased activities. "We expect annual exports to reach about \$2 million over the next three to five years, while the workforce will be increased to about 200," he said.

Meanwhile in Petah Tikva the wraps were taken off last week from the GII/I industrial robot. Fully computerized, it is an articulated arm that can be moved in virtually any direction. GII/I was developed by the Sharnoa electronics company here, which is going into mass production confident there will be buyers after its product is shown at the Technology 83 exhibition here this month.

Gil Hagiz, head of Sharnoa's research and development department, told the press that he is working on a new generation of the GII robot.

Israel has 22 industrial robots, compared with 16,000 in Japan, 7,000 in the U.S. and 4,000 in the rest of the world, the Industry and Trade Ministry's chief scientist, Arie Lavie, said. He added that about \$40 million are to be invested in robot development in Israel by the ministry and local industry in the next few years.

Rates of exchange

March 3, 1983	IS
U.S. dollar	37.9569
British sterling	57.3092
German mark	15.6702
French franc	5.5278
Dutch guilder	14.1789
Swiss franc	18.5223
Swedish krona	5.0874
Norwegian krone	5.2168
Danish krone	5.3905
Finnish mark	7.0239
Canadian dollar	31.0279
Australian dollar	36.0940
South African rand	34.8577
Belgian franc (10)	22.3090
Italian lire (100)	2.7109
Japanese yen (100)	6.0506



Stock exchange moves to new building

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The stock exchange, begun trading at its new headquarters at 54 Rehov Ahad Ha'am last week with a minimum of problems.

"It went much smoother than expected. There were several problems, but all of a minor nature, and they were quickly solved," said deputy chairman Natan Shiloh.

The new million-dollar computer was functioning, as were the loudspeakers on the trading floors and most of the 200 incoming telephone lines.

The exchange has a public gallery, which will hold 100 persons (standing).

A mezuza was affixed to the entrance to the \$10m building last Monday morning by Moshe Levi, one of the exchange's veteran brokers. Before actual trading began, Meir Heth, chairman of the stock exchange board, welcomed the members to the new building.

Many of the offices of the members, however, have not yet been completed, due mainly to the fact that many members decided to do their own interior decoration.

Shopping, U.S. style

By CAROL COOK in Tel Aviv, CHARLES LAZARUS, Montreal

DAVID AZRIELI, one of Canada's major developers and a prominent figure in the Zionist movement, has disclosed plans for the construction of a \$25m, enclosed shopping mall at Ramat Gan. It will be the first American-style shopping mall in Israel.

Azrieli, who studied architecture at the Technion, has built a chain of innovative shopping malls and office towers throughout Canada.

The mall, which will be named Kanion Dan, will be built on land near the National Stadium. Ground-breaking ceremonies have been tentatively set for April 26, and construction is scheduled to begin in late May or early June. The developers hope to open the mall in September 1984.

Two-thirds of the mall's 20,000 square metres of space have already been rented, according to Sar Shalom Shiran, the head of Canit International, Azrieli's Israeli subsidiary, which will manage the project.

No space will be sold. Retailers will pay either a minimum rent or a percentage of their sales. "By renting we will maintain control of the project and avoid the situation of someone buying space for speculation but never opening a shop," explained Shiran.

AMONG THE firms which will open outlets in Kanion Dan are Shekem, Supersol, Superpharm, Bank Leumi and Bank Mizrahi. The mall will also house four cinemas, an amphitheatre, eight or nine restaurants and about 100 shops. There are plans for sports facilities such as a squash court and a gymnasium. The developers also hope that the mall will also become a community-cultural centre with



David Azrieli

theatre productions and exhibits. The shopping centre will include parking space for over 1,000 cars, all within a five-minute walk of the covered mall. In addition, shoppers will be able to use the 5,000 parking spaces in the nearby stadium.

YISRAEL PELED, the mayor of Ramat Gan, told *The Post* that the shopping centre project has been in the works for about three years.

"The land around the stadium was an inactive area. We want to put some life into it. When Azrieli heard that we were planning a shopping mall, he came to us," Peled said.

Because the mall will be near Tel Aviv, it will serve some of Israel's most affluent communities, including North Tel Aviv, Ramat Gan, Givatayim, Bnei Brak, Savyon, Petah Tikva, Ramat Aviv, Kfar Shmaryahu, Herzliya and Ramat Hasharon. These communities have a total population of about 1,250,000.

Says Azrieli: "This project reflects two aspects of Israeli life. Israeli society is ready to enjoy the most advanced techniques of daily living, and it has a very bright social and economic future."

A role in broadcast satellite

By CHARLES HOFFMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A company headed by Meir Amit, a former head of Israel's non-military security service, the Mossad, is involved in a \$250 million project to launch a communications satellite which will serve clients in Africa and the Mediterranean basin, an official in the Ministry of Science and Development said.

The satellite is to begin operating in about four years and will offer channels for television, radio and telex for private use. It is to be manufactured by the large U.S. aerospace firm, Fairchild Industries, and launched by the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).

A prospectus for the project was recently issued by a London-based firm called General Satellite Company, which was set up to coordinate what the prospectus calls the African/Mediterranean Satellite (AMS).

Amit's firm, Amit Industries, represents General Satellite in Israel. Amit's partner in the firm, journalist Meir Carmel, said that the



Meir Amit

project, now in the planning stage, is being funded by a group of international firms.

Amit is one of about 20 members of the newly formed governing council for Israel's space agency, which is now being set up by Science and Development Minister Yuval Neeman. The council, composed mainly of scientists and government officials, will convene for the first time next month to discuss ways to encourage research that will contribute to Israel's space programme.

Diamond exports increase for third month

Post Economic Reporter

Net exports of diamonds went up by 1 per cent during February and totalled \$80.9 million, compared to \$90m. during the same month in 1982.

February's rise in exports is the third consecutive monthly increase. The cumulative rise in the sector's exports for the December-February period is 7 per cent.

Bank makes rapid strides

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — "It normally takes at least two years for a new bank to achieve a measure of profitability, but we managed to do it in the first year of operations. Now, after five years, in the year ending December 31, 1982, our total assets reached almost \$430 million. Profits have also shown a remarkable rise and last year totalled more than \$2.2m."

This was stated by the Hon. Abraham Beame, former mayor of New York and now chairman of the board of advisers of United Mizrahi Bank & Trust Co. of New York.

The bank, a subsidiary of the United Mizrahi Bank, was established in 1978 and is a New York State chartered commercial bank. U.M.B. has its head office in the Rockefeller Centre and branches in the Empire State Building and Nassau in the Bahamas.

"We have placed the accent on profitability and in 1982 our return on average equity was 13.8 per cent and the return on average assets was 0.7 per cent," the former mayor of New York said. He explained that U.M.B. serves as a wholesale bank, which means that its clients are primarily engaged in commerce and industry. "Our growth has been rapid and by the end of 1981, only three and a half years after we opened for business in New York, we were the 54th largest amongst the 1,000 commercial banks in the U.S.," Beame said.

Management likes to think of the institution as "the smart money bank" in view of its success in attracting "blue ribbon" clients.

Last month top management of United Mizrahi Bank subsidiaries from various parts of the world convened here for corporate meetings. At the same time the assembled board members and managers initiated the 60th anniversary celebrations of the bank.

Also serving as a member of the board of advisers of the U.M.B. Bank & Trust Co. is the Hon. Herbert Tenzer, who previously served as Congressman for two terms, representing the five-town Long Island area.

Record earnings

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Elscint Ltd., manufacturers of a broad range of medical diagnostic imaging systems, has announced that sales and earnings for the quarter ending December 31, 1982 established record highs. Sales for the three-months under review totalled \$30.5m, as compared with \$19.9m. a year ago. Profits reached \$3.9m, in contrast to \$2.7 a year earlier.

For the nine months ending December 31, sales were \$79.5m, as compared with \$48.8m. while profits for those nine months exceeded \$10.6m., as compared with \$6.9m. a year ago.

Net profits per share for three months were at \$0.26 as compared with \$0.18. For nine months, the net profit per share was \$0.72 as compared with \$0.47.

On January 18 of this year Elscint completed a financing issue on the American over-the-counter market whereby 1.32 million shares were floated at \$23.50 for a total of \$31m. The Elscint share last weekend traded at \$27 a share.

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Professor Jacob Talmon Memorial Foundation
for the Academic Year 1983/84

TALMON MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

The Hebrew University, together with the family of the late Professor Jacob Talmon, have established a foundation to commemorate the late Professor Talmon and his work. The Foundation announces the creation of a Memorial Fellowship, to be awarded annually. The Fellowship, in an amount of \$8,000, will be awarded to a Ph.D. candidate or post-graduate student whose work deals with subjects related to Professor Talmon's fields of research.

The award of the Fellowship requires the recipient's residence at the Hebrew University during the academic year 1983/84.

The Foundation and the Hebrew University will assist the recipient with travel and housing expenses.

The Fellowship will be awarded on the occasion of the Jacob Talmon Memorial Lecture in June 1983.

Candidates should submit:
A Curriculum vitae
A detailed outline of their research project
Three letters of recommendation

Applications should be submitted by May 1, 1983, to the Talmon Memorial Foundation, Office of the Dean, Faculty of Humanities, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mount Scopus, 91905 Jerusalem, Israel.

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33	26	ELSCINT	32	28	ELSCINT	33	28	ELSCINT	32	28	ELSCINT
34	27	ELSCINT	33	29	ELSCINT	34	29	ELSCINT	33	29	ELSCINT
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THE KAHAN REPORT: A 'BLUNTING OF THE SENSES'

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — I refer to David Krivine's article, "The limits of military strength" (February 20), in which he referred to the general conviction among the population that the accused officers had been "victimized" by the Kahan Report. It would seem to me that the convictions and the prejudices of the population in general feed off one elementary fact — that they have read the report's recommendations, but not its historical account of what actually happened.

On the evening that the Phalangists went into Sabra and Shatila, the most senior officer in the IDF's forward command post, on the roof of a building just 200 yards away from the camps, was Brigadier General Yaron. Krivine only quotes Yaron's own testimony, which disingenuously contributed further to the myth that Israeli personnel knew nothing of what was going on inside the camps until sometime on Friday: "I did badly. I admit it... How is it possible that a division commander is in the field and does not know that 200, 400, 500 or a thousand, I don't know how many, are being murdered here? If he's like that, let him go. How can such a thing be?"

It seems to me that the key testimony on this subject was that of Israeli Lieutenant Elul, also in the forward command post. Elul's evidence makes it quite clear that Israeli officers knew that a slaughter was taking place within one hour of the Phalangists' entry

into the camps. In the same post, there were Phalangist officers, in radio contact with their men inside the camps. The Phalangists entered at about 18 hours on that Thursday evening. At 19 hours, a Phalangist commander, Eli Hobeika, held a conversation over the radio, in Arabic, with one of his men inside. The man inside reported that they were holding some 50 women and children, and asked what should they do with them. Hobeika's reply, as overheard by Lt. Elul, was: "You know exactly what to do," and Hobeika added that this was the last time he was to ask such a question. At this, the other Phalangist officers on the roof broke out into raucous laughter.

Lt. Elul understood immediately that the intention was to murder the women and children. Brigadier General Yaron asked Elul to translate the conversation. Next, Yaron himself spoke with Hobeika for several minutes, in English, a conversation which Lt. Elul did not hear. So far, Lt. Elul's evidence.

Yaron's own testimony differed fundamentally. He reported Elul's translation of the Hobeika conversation as being "do with them what God orders you to do." Yaron claimed that he thought the reference was to 45 dead terrorists!

The Kahan report itself suggests that Yaron may have confused Elul's translation with a second report which came in, at around 20 hours, from another Phalangist officer. This officer, G., reported to

several people in the command post, including Yaron himself, that some 300 persons, including civilians, had already been killed inside the camps (within two hours of entry). The liaison officer later amended this figure down to 120 (only). Clearly, Yaron's own claim that he thought the reference was to 45 dead terrorists, fits better, numerically at least, to the earlier Hobeika conversation.

The Kahan Commission noted the difficulty it had with a series of conflicting testimonies. However, it was for this reason, among others, that the nine persons concerned were sent warning letters, in order to advise them of the damaging evidence against them, and offer them the opportunity to defend themselves. Yaron did not take the opportunity offered him to testify again, or to challenge Lt. Elul's testimony. Therefore the Commission felt bound to accept Elul's version.

To the layman, it must seem strange that a "mere" lieutenant should have understood the gravity of the situation immediately (and reported it to his superior), whereas a brigadier general apparently did not. Or was it to this aspect that Yaron himself referred, when he spoke of a "blunting of the senses." Was the lack of reaction because it was "only Arabs" who were being murdered?

PROFESSOR MICHAEL J. COHEN
Ramat Gan.

This group of Israelite Astartes — pottery fertility figurines — from the 8th century BCE will be part of the collection at the Dr. Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum of Art and Archeology which is being built at Haifa University.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Macabee Dean, in his article of February 20 on industrial growth, argues that we are witnessing "the strange phenomenon of the 'capitalists' yearning for the return of socialism." Dean claims Israel's industrialists would prefer socialism to the Likud's laissez-faire economics "where they have to scrounge around for the means to expand production."

If it is indeed true that Israel has changed from an exporter/producer to an importer/consumer nation, a return to socialism is hardly the answer. The salient factor here is too much government intervention; the socialist infrastructure was

never properly dismantled, dependency never cut. What was meant as production "incentives" has become export disincentives as government regulation, bureaucratic inefficiency and uncoordinated have strangled initiative.

Get government out of business, including its dependency-breeding industrial "welfare" of so-called subsidies, reduced loans, working capital financing and the like, and business in Israel will swim — or sink — on its own power, competitiveness and creativity.

REUBEN WEINSTEIN,
Vice President,
Trans-American Spinning Mills, Inc.
Mishor Adumim.

LACK OF COMPASSION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — We are living in the year 1983 — some 500 years after the end of the dark Middle Ages. Yet the Rishon Lezion burial society asks a woman to exhume her sister and mother. The sister died 14 years ago, the mother about six weeks

ago. The reason is that they are supposedly not Jewish — although they lived here about 20 years as a Jewish family.

Rabbi Goren always makes a tremendous issue about the desecration of tombs during excavations of 2,000-year-old sites. Yet he shows no compassion for this woman. Is it really Jewish to prefer the dead to the living?

LISELOTTE NORDHEIMER
Kfar Blalik.

ARIEL SHARON

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — The media commentaries on Ariel Sharon have in the main been negative. I have known Ariel Sharon for more than 30 years and I see him as a peace-maker.

History will judge Ariel Sharon and his understanding of the current and past Middle East problems. I predict that the contribution by Sharon to the peace and stability in the area will become even more apparent in the future. It is a truism that so often great men are not appreciated in their own time or in their own countries.

To present Ariel Sharon and assess his contribution positively, one must retrace the steps he has taken in the past, and their continuing effect.

Ariel Sharon demonstrates steadfast courage in spite of the personal attacks levelled at him from areas of the world's political jungle. May his strength be available to Israel and the free world for many years to come.

CYRIL KEREN
London.

'TIMID REPORT'

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — The report of the commission of inquiry on the Beirut massacre is interesting, but not very significant, since it is clearly very timid and partisan to Israel's establishment.

The injury that Beirut has caused to the State of Israel, long-term, is substantial. The conduct of Sharon/Begin has been of as great help to the PLO as Mai Lai was to Ho Chi Minh and Russia.

I am sorry Sharon resigned. I would have preferred to see him in office, to remind the world that Israel is not pure, not sacred and not holy.

R.B. SMITH
New York

SOLOMON J. SPIRO
Jerusalem.

PETER GIMPEL
Los Angeles.

THE POWERS OF THE JUDICIARY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — It is regrettable that, because of political passions, there is some confusion in the public mind regarding the institution of a commission of inquiry.

It is worth noting that:
1. The function of the commission, as its name indicates, is to enquire, i.e. to establish and verify facts; it is not a court of justice, the function of which is to adjudicate and sanction.

2. Even if it is true that the law allows the commission to offer recommendations, the government is not legally bound to implement them.

3. If the government does not implement the recommendations,

the political process is open for the opposition. It may try to overthrow the government by a vote in the Knesset — the supreme political authority in a democracy.

4. It will be a grave error to create a precedent by obligating the government to follow the recommendations of such a commission; it will thus become virtually a court, without all the safeguards attached to it.

We witness here, like with the powers of the Attorney-General, an extension of the powers of the judiciary at the expense of the executive and legislative branches, which endangers the foundations of a true Democracy.

RENE WEIL
Jerusalem.

JAKOB GIMPEL AND THE IPO

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post
Sir, — In reference to the recent festivities in Israel honouring the memory of Bronislaw Huberman, father of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, it is perhaps worth noting that his close associate, friend, and protégé, Jakob Gimpel, was intimately and instrumentally connected with Mr. Huberman's efforts to raise financial and moral support for what was to become the Palestine Symphony Orchestra.

It was during a concert with Jakob Gimpel in Tel Aviv that Huberman first publicly announced his plan for a national symphony orchestra in Palestine. It was through many joint appearances with Mr. Gimpel that Huberman raised funds to support that dream. It was with Mr. Gimpel that Huberman presided over many of the auditions in which the orchestra's first members were chosen. Other members were invited to join on Mr. Gimpel's personal recommendation.

Nor can it be forgotten that, when Huberman cancelled his first scheduled appearance with the orchestra, it was none other than the 70-year-old Gimpel, as featured soloist, who opened its second season with five symphonic appearances, an event which immediately blossomed into no less than 25 consecutive solo recitals by Gimpel in Palestine.

Thus history, in its growing appreciation for minutiae, will not fail to inquire why, in the years following Israel's independence and the inauguration of the Israel Philharmonic, my father, whose musical mastery and generosity continued to generate friendship and gratitude all over the world, was never again invited to return to Israel, or why the Israel Philharmonic did not see fit to seek his participation in the recent Huberman Celebrations.

PETER GIMPEL
Los Angeles.

SOLOMON J. SPIRO
Jerusalem.

PETER GIMPEL
Los Angeles.

FRIDAY, MARCH 4, 1983

Who needs Hussein?

ISRAELI Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir declared in the Knesset last week, was not an occupier but a liberator of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

This was a familiar claim, but the conclusion drawn from it by Mr. Shamir had a novel twist to it. When the present government was constituted, 19 months ago, it pledged that, at the end of the "transitional period" of autonomy, Israel would raise its claim and act to realize its right of sovereignty over the areas. In his devotion to the Herut party doctrine, Mr. Shamir has now gone beyond the government's original "policy guidelines."

There is no need ever to annex the areas, the foreign minister exclaimed. "They are part of Eretz Yisrael, and what is part of your country you do not annex."

A more blatant disavowal of the Camp David accords, it would be hard to imagine. These four-and-a-half year old accords — is it still necessary to recall such basic facts? — provided for talks to start not later than the third year of the autonomy among Egypt, Israel, Jordan and "the elected (Arab) representatives of the inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza." The talks would be based on Resolution 242, and they would aim "to determine the final status of the West Bank and Gaza and its relationship with its neighbours, and to conclude a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan by the end of the transitional period."

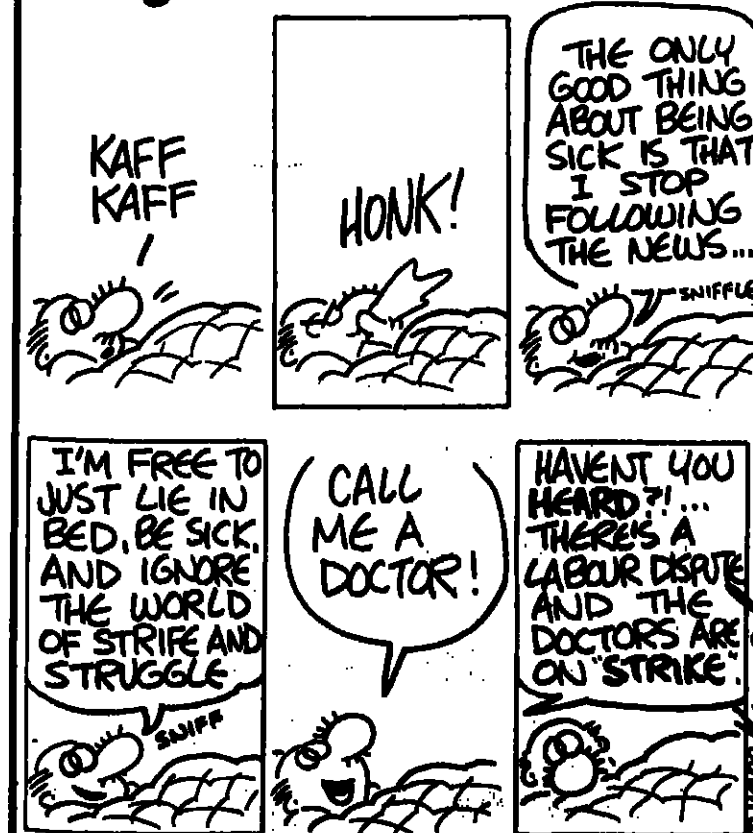
The present government's "policy guidelines" twisted this provision out of shape. Now the foreign minister has bravely trampled it underfoot.

Mr. Shamir is member of an administration whose head has openly invited King Hussein to join in the peace process within the framework of the Camp David accords, and without preconditions. Yet Mr. Shamir has himself now set clear preconditions for such participation.

The foreign minister's policy statement was in effect a disinclination to the Hashemite monarch to engage in peace talks — except on the prior understanding that, regardless of the requirement of withdrawal to "secure and recognized boundaries" in Resolution 242, he would never recover, or obtain, a single square inch of Palestinian territory, no matter how accommodating he might be on matters of peace and security. At the same time the statement served notice that, although the Palestinians are supposed to participate in the determination of their own future, they would, in the end, count for nothing.

Paradoxically, though, the foreign minister's entire argument rested on the unspoken assumption that King Hussein would indeed feel disinclined, and decline to talk peace with Israel. However, it is still possible, despite his dallying, that King Hussein will not be so eager to cooperate on this point with Mr. Shamir and Mr. Begin.

Dry Bones



The Friday Dry Bones



THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1983

THERE IS something gravely wrong, not only with doctors' wage scales, but the nation's health-care system as a whole, if a senior physician receives poverty-line pay for 200 hours of work a month — the basic salary — and then, to make ends meet, must put in many hours of overtime.

For this means that not only the personal economics of the doctors, but the entire public health structure, depends on the overtime system, which, in this case, should really be called the *overwork* system. And, of course, the younger doctors in the hospitals suffer the most.

As a result it is fair to say that, especially in the hospitals, the service provided by the state is based on tired doctors. More than that the Treasury believes it cannot afford.

The present strike has brought all this dramatically to

A disease of the system

public attention. And that, of course, is its purpose. Hopefully, it will also bring the doctors some relief.

Yet it would be a serious error to assume that an adjustment in doctors' salaries alone could heal the larger malady. For the issue is not simply what the Treasury thinks it can afford to pay the doctors, but also the system of priorities and allocations within the entire health-care structure itself.

If, for example, the structure has become too heavily weighted around hospitals, which gobble up huge state funds at the expense of much less costly ambulatory-service clinics, then, of course, the state will always be strapped for money for salaries. And that is indeed what has happened.

In the Health Ministry's

view, it is the sick funds, and especially the vast Histadrut labour federation sick fund, that provides clinic services. The Ministry focusses on hospitals. It measures itself by hospital beds, rather than in terms of the efficiency and cost-effectiveness of the entire public health structure.

But since the sick funds also depend upon government subsidies and not only income from members, the result is that the state pays for a system which it does not adequately plan or coordinate.... What is required, is a national health authority that would establish priorities and plan development for the entire system. Under such a framework, it must be assumed, more funds could also be found to permit the nation's doctors to work less and earn more.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1983

Rocks and retribution

HURLING stones at cars, as West Bank youths have been doing, is more than political protest. It is violent aggression with a dangerous weapon. That in the twentieth century there are deadlier weapons, does not lessen the danger to life and limb in a well-aimed rock. And only recently a young Jewish woman, Esther Ohana, died of injuries sustained by just such a missile as she was driving through the village of Dahariya.

The security forces on the West Bank, therefore, have a

right and a duty to apprehend and punish the guilty, and assure public safety, especially on the roads.

But that is not the job of the Jewish settlers, who, unfortunately, have been wont to take the law into their own hands. Now, obviously, a distinction must be made between resisting or counter-attacking, while it is underway, and acts of revenge undertaken after an incident. Certainly settlers being harassed by stone throwers must

not be faulted for trying to defend themselves — though even here they are accountable to the law.

However, attempts by the settlers to mount their own vigilante operations, to kidnap youthful suspects, to shoot up houses or cars, to engage in a kind of counter-terror of their own, must be put down by the authorities with the same firmness as Arab provocations, if social order of any kind is to be preserved on the West Bank.